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**ERSKINE OF CARNOCK'S JOURNAL**

DECEMBER 1893







Erskine

*From a miniature in possession of Mr. H. D. Erskine of Cardross.*

JOURNAL OF THE  
HON. JOHN ERSKINE  
OF CARNOCK

1683-1687

Edited from the original Manuscript  
with Introduction and Notes, by the  
Rev. WALTER MACLEOD



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## INTRODUCTION

THE author of the following *Journal* was a younger son of David, second Lord Cardross. That lordship was erected by charter under the Great Seal, of date at Whitehall 27th March 1604, in favour of John, Earl of Mar, and comprehended the lands which formerly belonged to the Priory of Inchmahomo and the abbeys of Cambuskenneth and Dryburgh, including the place and mansion of Inchmahomo, the lands and barony of Cardross, and others, lying in the shires of Perth, Stirling, and Berwick, respectively.

Four years later, in virtue of an arrangement between the Earl of Mar and his kinsmen, Alexander Erskine, commendator of Dryburgh and Inchmahomo, and Adam Erskine commendator of Cambuskenneth, these *quasi* churchmen granted procuratories to Mr. Alexander Hay, secretary depute to the King, for resigning, ‘with grit humilitie and reverence upone his kneis’ their respective benefices, in his Majesty’s hands, to the effect that the two former abbacies should be given to Harie Erskine, son of John, Earl of Mar, and that of Cambuskenneth to Alexander Erskine, also son of the Earl.

This transaction took place in the palace of Greenwich, on 31st May 1608; and on the same day royal signatures were granted in terms of the resignation, and delivered by the King to the Earl of Mar, ‘to be kept and used by him to the behoof of his said two sons.’

Accordingly, by charter, dated at Holyrood, 31st January 1617, and confirmed by the King on 13th March thereafter,

the Earl of Mar granted to Henry Erskine, his second son, the fee of the lordship and barony of Cardross, reserving the grantor's life-rent. Henry died before his father, leaving by his wife, Margaret Bellenden, an only son David, and a daughter Mary, who were, on 20th March 1629, placed under the tutelage of Captain Alexander Erskine, their father's younger brother. He was succeeded in the tutorship by his brother James, Earl of Buchan, in 1632; and latterly, in 1639, Lady Margaret Bellenden, the mother of the children, was appointed to the office.

Commission was granted under the Great Seal, on 10th January 1637, for the service of David Erskine of Cardross as heir-male of the late Henry Erskine, his father, in all his estates: and on 17th November 1641 ratification was made by the King and Parliament at Edinburgh, of a charter granted to the late John, Earl of Mar, of date at Theobalds, 14th July 1634, ratifying the original charter of erection of the lordship of Cardross, and conferring the benefit thereof on David, Lord Cardross, grandson of the said Earl.

David Erskine, second Lord Cardross, was about a year and a half old at the time of his father's death. This is mentioned in a signature granted by King Charles the First, of date at Newcastle, 30th October 1646, ordaining a charter to be expedited under the Great Seal in favour of the said David, and upon his own resignation, of the lordship of Cardross, comprehending the superiority of the vassals, and the patronage of the churches belonging to the lordship, and holding of the crown in free brench for the yearly payment of £100 Scots.

This was followed by a charter under the Privy Seal, dated at Carisbrook Castle, Isle of Wight, on 25th December 1647, in similar terms. On 17th January 1649, David, Lord Cardross, lodged a protestation against Sir John Scott of Scottistarvet, director of Chancery, for refusing to register the royal signature above mentioned, on the ground that it contained superiorities. The notarial instrument embodying this protest

records that it was ‘done in the writing chamber of the said Sir John Scott, foiranent the heid of Niddrie’s Wynd, on the north syde of the Kinges hie streit of Edinburgh,’ between the second and third hours after noon of the aforesaid day.

His lordship proved himself not ungrateful to the King, from whom he had received these formal securities, by protesting against the demand of the English army for delivery of his Majesty’s person at Newcastle in 1646 ; and by joining in the ‘engagement’ of 1648 in the royal interest. For this latter venture he was fined to the extent of a thousand pounds and debarred from sitting in the parliament of 1649.

David Lord Cardross was twice married, first, in 1645, to Anne, fifth daughter of Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, baronet, King’s advocate. By her he had two children, Henry, third Lord Cardross, who is so often mentioned in the *Journal*, and Margaret, who was married to William Cunningham of Boquhan. The second wife of Lord Cardross was Mary, youngest daughter of Sir George Bruce of Carnock, and sister of Edward and Alexander, first and second Earls of Kincardine. Of this marriage, which took place in 1655, were born seven children, namely : 1. Alexander, who died young. 2. William, afterwards of Torry, and deputy-governor of Blackness Castle. He married his cousin-german Magdalen, daughter of Sir James Lumsden of Innergellie, by his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir George Bruce of Carnock. 3. John, afterwards of Carnock, the author of the *Journal*. 4. Charles, a captain in the army, was killed at the battle of Steinkirk in 1692. 5. Veronica, married in 1703 to Walter Lockhart of Kirkton, Lanarkshire. 6. Magdalen, married to Alexander Monypenny of Pitmilly, Fifeshire. 7. Mary, who died young.

David, Lord Cardross, died in 1671. On 10th July of that year he executed a Bond of Provision, wherein it is narrated, that by the marriage-contract between him and Lady Mary Bruce, his present spouse, he was bound to provide her in liferent, and the bairns of the marriage in fee, to the sum

of £68,000, including therein her own tocher, to be divided among the bairns ; and also to provide the latter to the half of any free conquest he should acquire during the standing of the marriage : and whereas ‘it had pleased God to bless him with seven living and hopeful children of the said marriage,’ and considering that the aforesaid sum when divided among them would afford but mean provisions to each of them, he resolves to add £32,000 thereto, making the sum-total of £100,000, and therefore, with consent of his son Henry, Master of Cardross, he assigns securities of the value aforesaid. On the same day he executed his last will and testament, nominating Harie, his eldest son, as only executor ; reserving to Lady Mary Bruce, his wife, such plenishing as was provided to her by his bond at the time of their marriage, and bequeathing to her certain silver plate, with all the unshapen linen and woollen cloth, with the yarn, which she had provided ; and nominating as tutors to his children by his said wife, Alexander, Earl of Kincardine ; William, Lord Bellenden ; the said Harie, Master of Cardross ; Sir Charles Erskine of Alva, Sir George Preston of Valleyfield, John Buchanan of that Ilk, Sir William Bruce of Balcaskie, Colonel John Towres, Alexander Bruce of Broomhall, Mr. Robert Preston of that Ilk, George Cockburn of Piltoun, Mr. John Dempster of Pitliver, and the said Lady Mary Bruce. The witnesses to this deed include Sir Robert Cunningham of Auchinharvie, M.D. ; and Mr. Thomas Burnet, M.D.

In 1678 William and Veronica Erskine, the two eldest surviving children of the seven before mentioned, with consent of their curators, subscribed a declaration to the following effect : That on considering their father's Bond of Provision, and that by the decease of their brother Alexander, his portion returned to Henry, now Lord Cardross, so that there remained only the annual rent or interest of 37,800 merks for the maintenance of them and the other children, which, they declare ‘will scarce aliment, educate, and furnish us and them in

bed, boord and apparel, suitable to our and their station and qualitie: and seing we and the said remanent children have been still entertained and alimented by our and their said mother ever since the decease of the said David, lord Cardross, our father, and that we and they are still with her, therefore, we the said William and Veronica Erskines, with consent aforesaid, do declare that we hereby allocate the said annual rent bygone and to come to our said mother for our aliment, and do approve of her uplifting of the same for that end during our minority; and that her kindness and motherly piety shown to us should not be prejudicial to her own rights and interests under the aforesaid Bond of Provision.'

Following upon this act of filial piety, and after the two elder children had reached majority, the curators, on 21st February 1683, executed an act of division of the balance remaining under the Bond of Provision amounting to 95,429 merks, which they apportioned among the five children now surviving, thus: To William, 40,000 merks; to John, 16,000; to Charles, 12,000; to Veronica, 15,000; to Magdalen, 12,000.

The foregoing particulars of the family history of our author have been stated with the view of helping us the better to understand himself and his *Journal*.

John Erskine was born at Cardross in Perthshire, on 30th March 1662: he had, therefore, just reached majority about two months before the *Journal* was begun. Therein he records the memorabilia of his daily experience and observation, in the course of but three and a half years of his life of fourscore and one. The years covered by the *Journal*, though few, occur within a period of our national history hardly ever equalled in point of varied but withal painful interest—the period between the Restoration and the Revolution. As introductory to the matters narrated, or referred to, in the following pages, it might seem desirable to give a brief review of the events and the parties of that stormy time. On other grounds, however, it is not needful to do so here, especially

because it has been well done by other hands in works familiar to the intelligent: and besides, it might hardly consist with the design of the Scottish History Society, which is, presumably, rather to gather up the facts of history than to discuss them. This limit may not, however, be overstepped by simply pointing to the obvious characteristics of the period in question as revealed by the official records bearing on the Restoration and its results. From these it is evident that Charles the Second, like his father and grandfather, was not content with the inherited title of 'Defender of the Faith,' but claimed also the high prerogative of defining the faith, and then thrusting it by sheer force upon his unwilling subjects. Hence the stern resistance, even unto blood, of the men and women who were solemnly pledged to the principle embodied in their church standards, and sanctioned by the authority of Parliament, that 'God alone is Lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men which are in any thing contrary to His word, or beside it, in matters of faith or worship.'<sup>1</sup>

The opposition to the ecclesiastical measures of the Court, while most prominent in the west and south of Scotland, was far from being limited to these districts. The *Journal* affords evidence of a similar state of things as existing throughout the shires lying on both sides of the Forth. Proof to the same effect abounds in the records of the proceedings of the Privy Council, and of the Justiciary Court.

The estates of the Cardross family, as well as of most of their relatives, were situated within the area just referred to, and many of the incidents of the *Journal* occurred there. The Author refers occasionally, but not very fully, to the hardships which his brother Henry, Lord Cardross, endured on account of his steadfast adherence to the faith in which he was brought up. Wodrow, in his *History*, mentions some of the particulars

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<sup>1</sup> *Confession of Faith*, chap. xx. section 2.

which he had found in the public records in regard to the same subject, and a brief summary thereof is given by Sir Robert Douglas in his *Peerage*, which is here quoted for the sake of brevity :

‘ Henry, third Lord Cardross, succeeded his father in 1671, was trained in the manner of the family in the exalted principles of religion, liberty, and learning, and early joined himself to the opposers of the Earl of Lauderdale’s administration. In 1674 for his lady’s hearing her own chaplain preach in his own house, he was fined £5000, of which he paid £1000 ; and after six months’ attendance at Court, for procuring a discharge of the overplus of his fine, was, 5th August 1675, imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh, where he continued four years ; and his house of Cardross, immediately after it had been repaired and furnished at a great expense, was garrisoned, to his great loss and vexation.

‘ In May 1675, when Lord Cardross was at Edinburgh, a party of soldiers came to Cardross at midnight, abused the whole house, affrighting Lady Cardross, who was pregnant, and extending their incivility to such a barbarous height, that they forced her to rise from bed, that they might search the chamber ; and they broke open the closets, where his Lordship’s papers were contained. In 1677, he was fined on account of a child his lady was delivered of, being baptized by a person not his own parish minister, or licensed, notwithstanding he stated that he was then in prison, was not allowed to go out and attend his lady, and that he knew not by whom the child was baptized. And in June 1679 the King’s forces, on their march to the west, wheeled and went two miles out of their way, that they might quarter on his estates of Kirkhill and Uphall in West Lothian.<sup>1</sup> Lord Cardross was released, 30th July 1679, on giving bond for the amount of his fine, and early

<sup>1</sup> These estates came to Lord Cardross by his wife Catherine, who was one of the two sisters and co-heirs of Sir William Stewart of Kirkhill and Strathbrock.

the next year went to London, to solicit that his simple and liferent escheat, of which the Duke of Lauderdale had procured a gift in favour of his nephew, Mr. Maitland, might be assigned to the Earl of Marr. He likewise presented a narrative of his sufferings, which gave so much offence to the Privy Council of Scotland, that 12th February 1680 they wrote a letter to the King accusing him of misrepresentation. Not being able to obtain any redress, Lord Cardross went to North America, and established a colony in Carolina, which was destroyed by the Spaniards. He then left America, broken, but not dispirited, by misfortunes, and returning to Europe, attached himself to the friends of liberty in Holland.

‘He accompanied the Prince of Orange to England 1688, raised a regiment of dragoons for the public service 1689, and was a useful commander, under Mackay, in subduing the opposition to the new Government. In the Parliament 1689 he obtained “an act in favour of the Lord Cardross, anent his damages,” and protested that the forfeiture of the Earl of Buchan might not prejudge him, as heir of entail of the estate of Buchan. His Lordship was sworn a privy councillor, constituted general of the Mint, and possessed a considerable share of the favour of King William, but did not long enjoy it, dying of the effects of his sufferings at Edinburgh, 21st May 1693, in the forty-fourth year of his age.’<sup>1</sup>

Brought up in such a family, and at such a time, there was every prospect of a heritage of suffering awaiting young John Erskine.

His education during boyhood seems to have been conducted at home under the care of his mother and tutors. It is to one of these that he refers, with affectionate warmth, in the *Journal* when in Holland, under date 6th March 1685.<sup>2</sup>

‘I met with Mr. Robert Langlands, my old master, whom I

<sup>1</sup> Some papers relating to the proceedings against Lord Cardross are given in the Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> P. 109.

longed much to see.' On the following day he makes a similar entry. Mr. Langlands was most probably an exile on the same account as his loving pupil.

The young scholar, being destined for the Bar, studied also at the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow. This we learn from his references to old fellow-students with whom he for-gathered during his stay in Holland.<sup>1</sup>

It would seem that in 1683 the honours of laureation were beyond his reach, not because of defective scholarship, but because of his determination not to take the oath affirming the King's supremacy in spiritual as well as civil matters.<sup>2</sup>

While thus avoiding the sin of swearing to what he did not believe, he was not inclined nor allowed to remain idle ; for his ever watchful mother arranged, to his evident delight, that he should spend the winter in acquiring some experience of legal 'styles' and 'practicks' in the office of Hew Paterson of Bannockburn, at that time Keeper of the Signet, and afterwards dignified with a baronetcy.<sup>3</sup> This occupation was found to be of use also at times when it was not quite safe for him to be out of doors : hence the occasional statements in the *Journal*, that he stayed within writing his style-book.

As a sort of casual apprentice, he was fain to be on good terms with his juniors in the writing chamber. Thus he wrote, on 5th November 1683,—being the Gunpowder Plot holiday—'This night I gave the lads in our chamber a glass of wine and a supper, that I might make my acquaintance with them.' His pleasure as a host was, however, somewhat marred by the lads 'bothering' him with a curious ceremony, which seemed to him rather superstitious.<sup>4</sup> The lads on their part, resolving not to be outdone in good fellowship by the scion of nobility, retaliated by compelling him to accept of 'a glass of wine' from them a few weeks later.<sup>5</sup> These were the good old days when whisky was unknown !

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 163 and 187.

<sup>3</sup> P. 19, under 25 and 30 October 1683.

<sup>2</sup> P. 14.

<sup>4</sup> P. 19.

<sup>5</sup> P. 23.

The status which belonged to him as an aspirant to the Bar enabled him to attend the Courts with freedom, although his strong religious leanings were well enough known to Sir George Mackenzie and other prominent actors during the reign of judicial terror. The *Journal* begins with a description of what he saw in the 'Justiceaire' or Circuit Court at Stirling, then at Glasgow, and latterly in the High Court at Edinburgh. These notices of the judicial proceedings against the opponents of prelacy are of much interest in the way of corroborating or supplementing the narratives of other contemporary writers. This applies particularly to the trials of Gordon of Earlston, Campbell of Cessnock, Baillie of Jerviswood, and of Mr. John Dick, Student of Divinity, spoken of by the journalist as his 'dear comrade,' whom he accompanied to the scaffold, and whose remains he helped to carry to the grave.<sup>1</sup>

Like so many of his compatriots of that troublous time, John Erskine persistently refused to attend the ministrations of the curates: and as the subversion of presbytery had been accomplished two years before he was born, it seems unlikely that he ever worshipped in any parish church until the advent of the Revolution, when he was in his twenty-seventh year. Many a silent Sabbath is noted in the *Journal*; while, on other occasions, he records with satisfaction that he heard preaching on such a text by one or other of the expelled ministers, whose names, however, are seldom given except in cypher. Neither does he tell where these preachings took place. They were doubtless conventicles: for notwithstanding the severe enactments against such meetings, and the heavy penalties exacted from those who were convicted of being present at them, they were held with frequency, especially in the capital, and almost next door to the Court which proscribed them. There was, indeed, throughout the community, both in town and country, a quiet, friendly understanding in regard to these matters; and in-

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<sup>1</sup> P. 41 to 44.

formers could hardly be found but among the paid minions of the ruling powers.

In view of the ever-growing oppression and trouble for conscience' sake in his native land, Mr. Erskine had serious thoughts, in the spring of 1684, of emigrating, along with his eldest brother, to America, in the hope of finding there that freedom which could no longer be enjoyed at home. After advising with friends, and setting apart a day for prayerful consideration of the project, he concluded not to go, more especially on the ground that such a step 'might for a time impede, if not altogether stop' his studying for the law. With the hopefulness of vigorous youth he was now looking forward to a time when the present troubles should have passed away, and when his earnest diligence in study should be rewarded not only with a place at the Bar, but with the ermine of the Bench. Thus we find him meditating upon 'the qualifications requisite in a judge,' as laid down by Jethro in his advice to Moses.<sup>1</sup> This virtuous aspiration was not, as the sequel shows, destined to be realised: yet the qualifications which so attracted him in his ideal judgeship, were found to be not less becoming to his actual position as colonel of a regiment and governor of a royal castle.

It was, however, not a time for carrying out any settled plan of study or of action. Moving about from place to place much like a fugitive, he was learning more about patience in adversity than about law. His mother had just been fined in 4000 merks 'for not going to church.' It was thus evident that he, as equally guilty of the same crime, could not much longer go scatheless. Accordingly, he resolved, a few weeks later, to 'go off the country, with a design of studying the laws,' but more deeply moved by the consideration that 'there were many things that might engage people to leave Scotland,' though they still lingered, 'few being determined what to do them-

<sup>1</sup> P. 86. ,

selves or able to advise others.' On 10th January 1685, he took ship at Leith, and, after a voyage of nine days, arrived in London.<sup>1</sup> There, in the company of some Scotsmen of kindred spirit, he enjoyed greater freedom than he had known at home. Within a fortnight after his arrival, the death of Charles the Second took place. That event is but briefly referred to in the *Journal*, and did not, throughout the country generally, excite much interest or awaken hope of a change for the better. The last of the Stuart kings *de facto* was still to have his probation, and the people looked on rather apprehensive than doubtful of the issue.

Tarrying little more than a month in London, our author passed over to Holland. There he found himself as it were at home, amid the congenial society of many friends, relatives, and fellow-countrymen, exiles from the land they loved so well. To him, doubtless, the most remarkable feature of the change was the freedom to hear preaching every Lord's day. The sad weekly record: 'I heard no preaching,' which studs the earlier portion of the *Diary*, now disappears; and there is ample choice of ministers, both Scotch and English.

Still intent on the study of law he entered the college at Leyden with that view; but a fortnight later abandoned his books and took up the sword as a volunteer in the service of Argyll in his heroic but premature and abortive attempt to liberate his native land from oppression. Of this unhappy enterprise the *Journal* contains a fairly consecutive narrative, not without considerable value, as the contribution of an eye-witness, towards a complete history of that expedition. Shortly before the final disaster, Ensign Erskine (for such was his position in Argyll's little army) was sent into the districts of

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<sup>1</sup> The magistrates of Edinburgh granted him a passport 'to goe furth of this kingdom to Holland or France to studie the Law,' along with John Law as his servant. It is dated 9th January 1685, and signed by George Drummond, provost, Tho. Robertson, and Tho. Hamilton, bailies. Mr. John Law was really his ministerial servant, being the ousted minister of Campsie.

Menteith and Cardross with the view of gaining recruits. The news of his leader's overthrow and capture a few days later put an end to that purpose. During the next four months the *Journal* records his wanderings by night and day until he succeeded in once more 'going off the country,' and finding safety and comfort among the hospitable Hollanders. Settling this time at Utrecht, he resumed his study of law under Professor Van Moyden.

In circumstances so changeful and perplexing, it was natural that he should feel somewhat irresolute in regard to the line of action he ought to follow with a view to his future usefulness. While under hiding in Scotland he had serious thoughts of a possible call to the ministry of the Word.<sup>1</sup> After prayerful deliberation he resolved that while continuing to study for the Bar, he should at the same time make some preparation for an eventual vocation to the pulpit. Accordingly, in addition to the law class, he attended the prelections in theology of the celebrated Witsius and Maestricht, and of De Uries in philosophy; while in the sacred languages he took lessons from his compatriot, Mr. John Sinclair. This last engagement he describes as for the purpose of reviving what he had learned before. Besides all this, he was also studying French and Dutch.

After a busy session of nine months—from November to July—the college was closed for a month's vacation. In this interval Mr. Erskine, along with some friends, went forth on a journey through the Rhenish provinces. In his *Diary* there is a rapid and interesting account of the places he saw and the people he met by the way. Details are given of the meeting at Cleves between the Prince of Orange and the Elector of Brandenburg, with some conjectures as to its bearing on the political state of Europe and of Britain.

Returning to Utrecht about the end of August, his classes were resumed. On the 1st of October 1686, an entry occurs in

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<sup>1</sup> P. 150.

the *Journal* which may help to explain its abrupt termination soon after. He writes : 'I can say little now of this day, or of other days, in particular, which is not almost common to every day, being ordinarily taken up in going to college, reading at home, and sometimes seeing friends.' There is, indeed, more of such monotony in the *Journal* than is desirable. One naturally wishes to learn more of what passed between the writer and his numerous companions, especially as some of them are of note in our national history. It is, however, to be remembered that this daily record was written merely to refresh his own memory in after years, or to please and instruct his children, but certainly not to be printed for the critical readers of two centuries later.

Throughout the book there are occasional instances of solemn self-examination and devout communings of his soul with God. Not imbued with the notion that the experience of the saints mentioned in the Bible was peculiar to them and beyond the reach of later believers, he tested his own spiritual condition by the same high standard ; and thus complains heavily of the burden of sins which pressed sore upon his conscience, while they were merely inward or heart sins, known only to himself and to God. But as the heart of man is declared by the Lord Jesus to be the prolific source of all the evil that defiles the character and the life, a sound and genuine piety will prompt its subject to 'keep the heart with all diligence.' Of the same kind of piety the great apostle is an instructive example : for he too was addicted to self-scrutiny, and found 'a law in his members warring against the law of his mind, and bringing him into captivity to the law of sin,' whereby he was made to groan for deliverance. Yet there never was a Christian more active, cheerful, and practical than was Paul. To stigmatise the spiritual habits thus referred to, and, so far, characterising the experience of John Erskine, as the result of a gloomy dogmatism, does not do away with one of the deepest facts of our common nature.

There is no lack of evidence that our author, though earnestly religious, was far from being morose. He enjoys the scenery of his own and other lands ; plays at the ‘byas bowls,’ goes now a-fishing, then a-hunting or shooting, on rare occasions truly, but that was on account of the troubles of the time. He makes brief but graphic notes of the weather ; of strange phenomena (such as a hen with four feet and as many wings), wisely abstaining from any attempt at explaining these ; mentions his reading *Clelia: a Romance*,<sup>1</sup> when he had nothing else to do ; describes various ‘freets’ and superstitions among the country people, and the ‘bickers’ of the Edinburgh boys ; touches off the vagaries of quacks and mountebanks ; and tells of a ‘discreet Dutchman’ who showed him the stuffed skin of a man two years dead, with the finger-nails still a-growing.

It may be of some interest to note the books which formed the mental food of the writer of the *Journal* for the period it covers. There were probably more, but these are mentioned, viz.:—Buchanan’s *Chronicle*; Calderwood’s *History of the Church of Scotland*; Guthrie’s *Trial of a Saving Interest in Christ*; Hope’s *Treatise on the Scots Law*; *An Historical Account of Church Government, etc.*, by William Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph; Stair’s *Institutions*; *Animadversions on a Book intitled ‘Fanaticism imputed to the Catholic Church fanatically, by D. Stillingfleet, and the Imputation refuted by S. C.*,’ by a Person of Honour; *Union of Scotland and England*, by Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam; *Treatise on Christian Comfort*, by David Dickson; Descartes’ *Principles*; *Christiana Theologia*; *An exact history of the changes of Government in England from the horrid murther of King Charles the 1st to his son’s return in 1660*; Rushworth’s *Collections*; *Letter to the Author of Jus Populi Vindicatum*, by Mr. Gilbert Burnet; *Papers betwixt King Charles 1st and Mr. Alexander Henderson concerning church*

<sup>1</sup> This ancient specimen of ‘light reading’ was a folio volume ; it is so mentioned in a ‘Catalogue of books lent to Sir William Paterson from the College Library,’ 1693.—Paper in the archives of the burgh of Edinburgh.

*government by bishops*; *Therapeutica Sacra*, by D. Dickson; *The Mystery of Astronomy* by William Bagwell.

Readers of the *Journal* will form their own estimate of its author, so far as that can be done from such a brief and fitful record, written between his twenty-first and twenty-fifth years, amid the distractions of a troublous time. There can be little doubt that few will question his honesty, manly simplicity, and candour. Under circumstances most trying to temper and patience, he manifests a subdued and humble spirit, more ready to see his own faults than to dilate on those of other men; and, like his suffering contemporary, James Nimmo,<sup>1</sup> he breathes no words of bitterness or revenge against his persecutors. Like others far more conspicuous than he was in the twenty-eight years' conflict then being waged against despotism, his public conduct, if not his private motives, may seem to some to stand much in need of vindication. That may not be disputed. The best and noblest of causes has never yet in this world found immaculate defenders. But if a policy may be judged by its fruits, the Revolution, with its results, may be regarded as sufficiently vindicating those who by their self-sacrifice and painful labours were instrumental in bringing it to pass.

What now remains by way of introduction is to sketch briefly the author's career from the time when the *Journal* abruptly terminates. That was in January 1687, when he was just on the eve of being introduced to the Prince of Orange. It may be that this event, and the work he was called to do in preparation for a new and more hopeful enterprise in the cause of British freedom so engrossed his thoughts and filled his hands that he felt it better to lay aside his *Diary* until he should enjoy a more settled leisure. From the fragments of a later journal, quoted in the Appendix, it is evident that he did not altogether leave off the habit of jotting down the events of the day.

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<sup>1</sup> See vol. vi. of this series.

It is said by Sir Robert Douglas that our author's first function in the service of the Prince of Orange, in Holland, was that of captain of a company of foot. When the Revolution became an accomplished fact, other honours were conferred on him and his brother, Lord Cardross. The latter, in 1689, raised a regiment of horse for the public service. Two years later, his lordship having been appointed General of the Mint, the regiment was disbanded. Whether this took place before or after 29th January 1691 does not appear; but on that date warrant was granted by the Privy Council to Sir Thomas Livingston, the Commander-in-Chief, to send forces to defend the house of Cardross 'against the Highland rebels.' On 2d June, the same year, a letter from the king was received by the Council, with instructions to pay the arrears due to Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson, 'of Lord Cardross' regiment of dragoons lately disbanded.' On the same day the Minutes of Council bear that Lord Cardross was nominated as Colonel of the foot regiment of militia to be levied from the town of Edinburgh and suburbs, and the shire of Linlithgow. His lordship thereupon represented that the General and other officers of the Mint were exempted 'from all wars by land or sea,' so that he could not be obliged to serve as colonel of that regiment; but that he was willing for their majesties' service to offer, that if the arrears due to him and the officers and soldiers of his regiment of dragoons, then disbanded, were paid, he should recall and keep together the last-named regiment for two months at his own expense. The Council, having thanked him for the offer, recommended it to the consideration of the Lords of the Treasury, and they also exempted him from serving on the militia.

Henry, Lord Cardross, died in May 1693, and was succeeded by his eldest son David as fourth lord, who, in 1695, succeeded to the earldom of Buchan.

Our author, having at length reached a haven of comparative rest and peace, sought further to enhance it by taking to

himself a wife. The marriage contract was signed at Edinburgh on 12th March 1690, between Captain John Erskine and Mistress Jean Mure, eldest daughter of the late William Mure of Caldwell, with consent of her mother, Barbara Cunningham. The bride was heiress of entail of the estate of Caldwell, and her affianced husband provided her to a liferent annuity of 2000 merks. The witnesses to this contract are John, Earl of Mar, Alexander, Earl of Eglinton, Henry, Lord Cardross, Mr. Francis Montgomerie of Giffen, John Hamilton of Halcraig, Adam Cockburn of Ormistoun, Mr. William and Captain Charles Erskine, brothers-german of the bridegroom, Sir William Cuninghame of Cuninghamehead, knight-baronet, John Dempster of Pitliver, George Fullerton of Dreghorne, James Stewart, advocate, Archibald Mure of Thoretoun, James Dunlop, one of their Majesties' General Receivers, Mr. William Carstairs, minister, Captain James Mure, etc. The Earl of Leven's signature is added. The marriage took place two days after the signing of the contract, but the union so auspiciously begun was, after two short months, broken by the death of the lady.

Captain John Erskine was about this time appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Stirling Castle, the government of which had belonged hereditarily to the chiefs of the family of Erskine for some centuries. The commission in favour of the Captain has not been found on record, but the fact of his appointment is sufficiently ascertained from an Act of Privy Council under date 5th February 1691, authorising 'Captain John Erskine, present Lieutenant-Governor of Stirling Castle,' to nominate another lieutenant in place of George Shaw of Sauchie. Again, on 1st October the same year, he receives, under the same designation, licence from the Council to go to London.

In reference to this important appointment, the Rev. Sir Henry Moncreiff Wellwood, Bart., in his *Life of Dr. John Erskine*, grandson of our author, mentions that the Captain's name was not inserted in the list presented to the king of

those to be provided to posts of public trust, because he refused to take the oath of allegiance. The king, when he noticed the omission and was apprised of the reason of it, remarked, ‘It may be so; but I know Captain Erskine to be a firmer friend to the Government than many of those who have taken the oath.’ Sir Henry adds, that in order to benefit the Captain, notwithstanding his scruples, the office of Lieutenant-Governor of the Castle was intrusted to his nephew of the same name, while the emoluments went to the uncle. Of this arrangement no trace has been found in any authentic source, while the references already cited show that Captain Erskine was the actual holder of the office.

After eight months of widowerhood, he married, on 5th January 1691, Anna, eldest daughter, and one of the heirs, of William Dundas of Kincavil, by whom he had seven children, namely:—1. William Henry, born 14th November 1691; he died at Edinburgh 30th June 1705. 2. David, born 1st April 1693; died in the following year. 3. Mary, born 17th March 1694; was married in 1721 to Mr. Alexander Leslie, afterwards fifth Earl of Leven. 4. John, born 4th November 1695, afterwards Professor of Law in the University of Edinburgh, and author of the *Institutes of the Law of Scotland*. 5. Patrick, born 17th June 1697; married in 1717 Mrs. Sarah Maxwell; was some years at Boston, New England; and died at Culross in 1726. Some interesting particulars of Patrick Erskine and his early marriage are noted in the correspondence of Wodrow with the ministers of Boston.<sup>1</sup> 6. David, born 30th June 1698; married, in 1727, Mrs. Lucy Cunningham; and settled at Breda, in Brabant. These six children were born in Stirling Castle. 7. Ebenezer, born at Edinburgh, 7th August 1708, and died at Culross.

Soon after his second marriage our author is referred to in documents under the title of Lieutenant-Colonel, but no precise

<sup>1</sup> Wodrow *Correspondence*, vol. ii. pp. 281-285.

information has been found as to the date and other particulars of his commission. There was a kinsman of his who had the same name, and in later years was also invested with the rank of colonel. Mr. Beveridge, in his interesting book, *Culross and Tulliallan*, informs us that these two colonels were in the early part of last century resident in Culross, in separate dwellings within the same court, hence called 'the Colonels' Close.' In order to distinguish them, they were referred to in the session and other records, and by the people, as the Black Colonel and the White (or fair) Colonel respectively, our hero being the owner of the dark complexion.<sup>1</sup>

His mother, Dame Mary Bruce, on 4th April 1693, executed various deeds for the benefit of her children. The first of these is a disposition in favour of Lieutenant-Colonel John Erskine, lieutenant-governor of Stirling Castle, her second son now in life, and the heirs-male of his body, failing of which, to the heirs-male of Mr. William Erskine, depute-governor of the garrison of Blackness, her eldest son, of the plenishing of her house of Torry, and other goods and gear, excepting such as had already been gifted to the said Mr. William, or to Veronica Erskine, her eldest daughter, or to Magdalene, her youngest daughter, and Alexander Monypenny of Pitmilly, husband of the latter. She also assigns certain large sums of money to the said Mr. William and to her daughters Veronica and Magdalene, and their heirs, with remainder to the said Lieutenant-Colonel John Erskine. At the same time these sons and daughters grant discharge to their mother, as curatrix to them and their deceased brother Charles, of her curatory and whole management of their affairs during their minority.

On 14th October 1696, Lieutenant-Colonel John Erskine executed two deeds, viz., a disposition in favour of William Henry, his eldest son, of all his heritages and personal estate,

<sup>1</sup> The well-known Ralph Erskine, afterwards minister of Dunfermline, and one of the first seceders, entered the family of Colonel Erskine of Carnock in 1705, as tutor to his children.—*Culross and Tulliallan*, by Beveridge.

with reservation of his own liferent and power to alter or annul the deed; also, disposition in favour of John, his second (surviving) son, of seven oxengates of the lands of Kincavill, in the shire of Linlithgow, 'for a provision and portion natural to him,' with reservation as in the other deed.

These early settlements in favour of his still very young children may have been prompted by considerations arising from his connection with the unfortunate 'Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies,' by which the Darien Expedition was promoted. A few weeks before the date of the deeds above mentioned, that is, on 16th September 1696, the Court of Directors of the said Company issued 'Instructions for John Erskine, son to David, Lord Cardross, and Governor of Stirling Castle, John Haldane, baron of Gleneagles, Messrs. William Paterson<sup>1</sup> and James Smyth, merchants,' to 'repair with all convenient speed to such place or places beyond the seas, as you shall judge most fitt, and there, or from thence, proceed to make and conclude such treaties or agreements of trade as you judge most beneficial for and on behalf of this Company.'

They were also empowered to purchase and fit out so many ships, with cargoes and stores, as they judged necessary for the enterprise, to the extent, in the meantime, of £35,000 sterling.<sup>2</sup>

It does not appear that the Colonel actually went on the mission thus marked out for him. He had quite enough to engage his time and energies at home, between his official duties at Stirling and Dumbarton, his active interest in ecclesiastical affairs, and, not least, the cares which lay near his heart as a husband and a father.

He had, moreover, some rather intricate legal business in hand in regard to the paternal estates of Cardross. The lands of that lordship had been disposed by his now deceased brother Henry in 1683, to the Earl of Mar and others, in trust for

<sup>1</sup> The well-known founder of the Bank of England.

<sup>2</sup> One or two papers relating to the Darien settlement are printed in the Appendix.

behoof of the creditors, and various adjudications followed. These burdens were so far cleared off by the Colonel, that on 9th December 1699 his nephew, David, Earl of Buchan, disposed to him, for money received, his whole estate of Cardross.<sup>1</sup> On the same day Katherine, Lady Cardross, widow of his brother Henry, disposed to him her interest in the estate, which, at the same time, he redisposed to her under reversion. It would seem that all the bonds on the estate had not then been redeemed, as some of them are found in later years passing by assignation from one party to another, until in 1739 the Colonel raised a process of ranking and sale against his nephew, the Earl of Buchan, and eventually, on 25th July 1746, decree was given in favour of Mr. John Erskine as son and heir of the Colonel, finding him purchaser of the estate of Cardross, at the price of £8290 sterling.

In 1700 the bulk of the estates of the Earls of Kincardine passed by judicial sale to Colonel Erskine, thereafter designed as of Carnock. The mansion and grounds of Culross Abbey were not included in the purchase, but remained with Veronica, Countess of Kincardine, and passed with her daughter, Lady Mary, into the family of Lord Dundonald.

The Colonel was member of Parliament for Stirling from 1702 to 1707, and in the first Parliament of the United Kingdom 1707-8; and for the Stirling burghs 1708-10. In politics he belonged to what was then known as the Whig party.

As an elder of the Church of Scotland he took an active part in the proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts. His close friendship with Wodrow, the historian, is attested by the published correspondence of 'that indefatigable collector and narrator.' The editor of that correspondence, published by the Wodrow Society, thus refers to Colonel Erskine: 'So strict was

<sup>1</sup> In this, and in other documents of later date, the Colonel is designed governor of the castle of Dumbarton. In the Register of the Privy Council of 1701 he is still designated depute-governor of Stirling Castle.

he in his presbyterian principles that we find him, when he had occasion to petition parliament about some of his personal affairs, refusing to recognise the civil places of the bishops in the House of Lords, and presenting a memorial to the members of parliament on the subject, though this scrupulous adherence to his principles subjected him to the hazard of worldly loss. . . . He was uniformly found on the popular and evangelical side. The uncompromising enemy of lay-patronage, he was urgent in pressing on the church the necessity of adopting energetic measures in order to get rid of that imposition. . . . As a proof of the confidence placed in him by the church, and of his influence with the government, it may be observed that, in 1735, when the General Assembly appointed commissioners to go to London for the purpose of applying to parliament and the crown for the repeal of the Act of Queen Anne restoring patronage, he was selected, along with the two last moderators of the General Assembly, for this mission.'

His character as a father has so far been indicated by the early provisions made to his children. It appears in a more familiar aspect in the few examples which remain of his correspondence with his sons. William Henry the eldest, who died while at school in his fourteenth year, thus writes to his father from Stirling on 1st December 1701 : 'Sir, I received the hat you sent me on Saturday. I would be glad to hear how my mother, brethren, and sisters keep their health. I designed to write but was not certain whether you was gone to Edinburgh or not. Sir, be pleased to send me a map of that part of Italy where the French and Imperiall Armys are. Be pleased to give my service to all friends at Edinburgh. I will trouble you no more at present, but rests your affectionate and obedient son, William Henry Erskine.'

To his eldest surviving son, John, the future professor of law, Colonel Erskine wrote the following letter, dated Rothesay, April 14th, 1709, the youth being then in his thirteenth year : ' My dearest Johnie, I would have wrote to you before now if

any occasion from this had offered, save that one by which my Lord Bute wrote a letter to Mr. M'Gill, the one half of which was designed for your perusal, your serious consideration, and instruction ; and if you have thought upon it as such, sufficient at the time to satisfie you as to your Father's concern in your welbeing, and all our safe arrivalls here, which I beleive you would be very desirous to have ane account of. Tell Mr. M'Gill that I received two letters from him, Saturday last, the one dated the 22 of March, the other, I suppose, wrote after, but had no date. I am very well pleased with the accounts he gives me of your health. I wish you may be thankfull to God who bestows so great a blessing upon you ; and provoc Him not to throw you into sickness by misemploying your health and capacity, or not using them for those ends they are given for, which is to improve yourself in grace, wisdome and vertue, that you may be serviceable to your God in this world, a blessing and honour to your country, and a comfort to all your friends. You see what great occasion your kinde creator gives you of being a wise man, in blessing you with health, judgement, affectionate parents, and proper masters to furder your progress in learning, which if you now slight and neglect (as I hope in God you will not), these opportunitys will soon be taken from you, justly, and you will be hated by your parents, despised by your friends, and laughed at by all who see you miserable by your own folly. But I hope, my dear Johnie, there is no caus to insist upon this subject with you, or to fear your being in this terrible hazard : therfor I will only acquaint you with the pleasure I take to think you delight in learning, and, as you promist to me, will let your chiefest ambition terminante in nothing less than to equall the most wise and celebrated men of this and former ages, which will make you happy in your life, rich and great, blest in your death when old, and honourably remembered hundreds of years after you are dead : and this you need not doubt to be, if you but prefer the pleasures of the mind to

those of the bodie, which preference never mises to make a man all that he can wish ; and if you can but fill your minde when young with an eager desire of wisdome and knowledge, nothing that is vain and empty will give you the least satisfaction : and you can never expect to please me till I see you arrived at this pitch, that you have a treu sense of the foolish useles pleasures of the body, which tend all to sin and corruption (especially to those who have not their mind replenisht with learning and verteu), and a clear sight of the advantages a wise, pious, learned man has over all the ignorant, idle, gawdie, gaiming, debaucht fops, which this world most abounds with, that spend all their time in pleasing the senses, making themselves ripe to be damned, without thinking they have an immortal soul (more than the beasts) which their care through Jesus Christ could take to everlasting glory, and their neglect of, brings to everlasting misery. Now, your writing to me that you believe this will not do ; for it being trew matter of fact, all must acknowledge it, tho' indeed conviction must be the first step ; but then if your practise do not demonstrat more than your words, you will lose my affection intirely, and ruin your poor self. But, Johnie, do not be frighted with thoughts that a wise learned man must be deneyed all the pleasures of the body : it is not so ; he only is to furnish his mind first, as being the most noble pairt, which deserves greatest care, and from which all the outward pleasures receive their trew taste and valow : for as much learning and knowledge as one man has more than another, so much higher is all that man's pleasure than the brutish sinners, because he is unbounded being innocent, and wishes for nothing but what he can and may enjoy. His wisdom also gives him a right view, and power to improve all the delights of human nature, as they were bestowed upon our first parents, then innocent ; but the ignorant, wild raike is never satisfied, always wishing what he cannot obtain, and an evil conscience tormenting him in all his enjoyments, gives him no more reall sensuall

pleasures than by his own neglect of learning he can have of spirituall. This I could make very clear, my dear Johnie, even to your waik capacity, if too long a letter did not make you forget what is materiall in it: but in hopes it will not, I'll let you see how freely God Almighty allows his servants the use of all their facultys of soul and body, and lightens their pleasurs in the person of each of them. The facultys of the soul you cannot yet know the powers of, being but in the way of learning, which only can discover them to you, and without which they are never knownen: But those of the body, comparison may give you a sense of. If ther be any pleasure in fine clothes, the learned man may be as fine and nate as any Beau; and he has this advantage over them in their best dress, that the outside is just the same, and the inward man casts such ane additional luster upon it as attracts the eyes of all beholders, that the Beau is not so much as lookt at but with derision. If there be pleasure in conversation, the learned man both has that and can give it to others; whatever company he is into, like a loadstone, with airn he draws all the valowable pairt about him, some admiring him, others receiving benefite by his wise discourses, others praising and almost adoring him. Judge you what additional pleasure this must be to him, to be lookt upon as a god wherever he goes, and indeed nothing makes men so near to resemble God as knowledge. If there be any pleasure in the company of Ladys, none can pretend so much to that as the man of learning and vertue; for in his friendship the Ladys can safly repose, their character runs no haizard: they think themselves honoured when in the number of his friends, and there is none will refuse him that name, wheras the ignorant fope is shun'd by all women of reputation, and if he intrude upon their civility, they are ashamed of it, and deny being of his acquaintance. If there be pleasure in drinking, the wise man has all necessary freedom to eat and drinke with his friends what runs not to exces, and to be merry, and his conversation adds life and spirits to their liquer,

which makes it healthful and agreeable, and keeps himself and all with him from being intoxicat. Thus you see nothing is denied the wise learned man of all the good creatures which God Almighty has provided for his use, and in the greatest purity and perfection he enjoys them. So, my dear childe, thinke seriously upon all I have wrot to you, which is as infallible as truth itself. And the more diligent and painful you are when young to acquier grace, wisdome, knowledge, and learning, the sooner will you have the fruition of all the other self-satisfieing delights, which are but the accidents of life, not the designe. Therfor, consider, my dear, the end and the designe of learning, and let not the empty vanitys which you see children and fools taken up with divert you from the main business on which depends your happiness here and hereafter, and also, my whole satisfaction.

‘Be sure you read this letter every day once over, for my occasions are but few, and I have such difficulty in breking off when I write to you, having so much to say, and such a desire to enforce that it makes me swear<sup>1</sup> to begin: therfore make good use of this till you get ane other, and the Lord of his infinit mercie inlighten your minde in the knowledge of Christ, that you may seeke first the kingdom of heaven. I hope all other things will be added thereto; but if you neglect that, Johnie, you need not expect a blessing to follow any of your labours, or that your judgement or capacity will be inabled to answer the expectation of your friends.

‘Be not too fond of visiting or gauding abroad: let your recreation be no more than is necessar for your health. Remember that Solomon says, Be not too often in your neighbour’s house, lest they be weary of you: and consider you are not yet capable to intertean a conversation with people of sense, and ought to be too wise for bairns and foolls. So imploy no time that way but what common discretion oblidges,

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<sup>1</sup> Reluctant.

which Mr. Gill will regulat. I have wrote to him to put you imediatly to writing. See that by pains you make up your lost time at that school, lest your Father thinke his money lost. I send you a very ill wrote letter, being in hast, but I expect to receive one from you a month hence, wrot by your own hand, much better, which will be very acceptable. Caus acquent me if you can read my write perfectly: the frequent reading my letters may bring you to it, which I hope you will not omit.

‘If you have got your new clothes, take care to keep them clean; nothing is more unlike a gentilman than to be slovenly and nasty in their clothes. I expect you will both speak and read french against I see you, and that you neglect not your latine, which is the chief of languages, and that one must do you greatest service in the world. Take what pains you can upon your dansing, for you will not be long so idly employed, I hope. Be cheerful, good natur’d, and innocent; let not your minde be idle, lest the devil provide work for it, which he watches to do; and when you incline to be idle, conclude it is the devil tempting you, and force your self to some booke or worke to be revainged upon him, and the Lord will assist you; so the devil will be ashamed and flee from you: but if you obey him and go to diversion whenever you incline (that is, when he bids you), then he will come again and again till he bring you to an aversion to all good. Remember this signe, and also the way to resist and disappoint him.

‘The Lord God Almighty direct you, and follow with a rich visible blessing all the means made use of for your edification and instruction, for your growth in grace and vertew: so leaving you upon his care, who gave you unto me, I bide you, my dearest Johnie, Farewell.

‘See that you attend the meeting hous every Sabath, and let your ears be more engaged than your eyes, otherways you had better be at home. Give my service to Mr. Robert Sibald and his Lady and daughters; to my sister the Lady Glasgow, and my Lord if in town; the Lady Ednam and her daughters, especially Mrs. Margaret; to my aunt Scot, and the Lady

Benny. Cause give my Lady Glasgow the use of my chair always : it stands in the nurse's Goodman's hous, you know. Keep all my letters.'

This letter sufficiently reveals the character of the writer ; and, as 'a wise son maketh a glad father,' the Colonel must have tasted a fair measure of such joy in the success of his fatherly counsels, for the son is well testified of by more than one witness. Mr. Ramsay of Ochtertyre thus speaks of him : 'A better and pleasanter pair than Mr. Erskine and his Lady have seldom appeared in any country. His learning and judgment could only be surpassed by his modesty and rectitude. He had the happiest talent of communicating what he knew ; and, exclusive of law, he knew a great deal of curious matters relative to men and things which could only be gathered from conversation. . . . He had a warmth and keenness in conversation which, as he never assumed, tended only to enliven it.'<sup>1</sup>

In the troublesome business of the oath of abjuration imposed in the reign of Queen Anne, Colonel Erskine was very active in the interest of the non-juring Presbyterians, as the correspondence between him and Wodrow shows. In connection with this matter, and also with the question of church patronage, he was very much in London during the period between 1712 and 1720. He was opposed to both of these measures ; and it is said that though a patron himself of several charges, he would not make use of his legal power but according to the choice of the people. He and other non-jurors were willing to give any assurance of their loyalty to the Hanoverian dynasty which did not involve them in the approbation of the prelatic establishment in England : and a Memorial and Declaration to that effect was in 1715 presented to the Crown, with the result that some modification of the terms of the oath was allowed so that it could be taken without scruple.

The Colonel was, notwithstanding his objections to the

<sup>1</sup> *Scotland and Scotsmen, etc.*, vol. ii. p. 130.

oaths imposed by the State, sincerely loyal. As illustrative of this feeling, it is mentioned that a young gentleman for whom he had a special regard was enticed by the agents of the Pretender, and was preparing to join the rebel army. Colonel Erskine hearing of this, surprised his young friend by entering his bedroom at five o'clock on the morning fixed for his departure, and then declared to him, 'in a tone of the most determined resolution, that though he would have reasoned the matter fairly with him, if he had been consulted, as his experience and the interest he had always taken in him entitled him to expect, yet he found it necessary to follow a different course with a headstrong young man who seemed prepared to hazard everything in defiance of all good counsel: and that, for that time at least, if he accomplished his purpose, it must be over his body.'<sup>1</sup>

This remonstrance, from one whom the youth had always regarded with deference, was effectual, not only in preventing his defection, but in confirming him in steady allegiance to the reigning family.

Much has been written by local historians and others in reference to the Colonel's litigious disposition. He was, indeed, involved in some law-plea or other almost continuously from 1700 onwards to the day of his death. This was, however, not with him a matter of mere choice. The estates which belonged to his ancestors on the father's and the mother's side he had purchased under judicial sale, in order to retain them in the family. These estates, and especially that of Tulliallan, were more or less involved in a maze of bonds, processes, interloquitors, and appeals, the ramifications of which might be traced from 1633 to 1731, when the whole matter was brought before the House of Lords at the instance of Robert Blackwood, Esq., as creditor of a former creditor, against David Earl of Buchan, Colonel John Erskine, and other members of that family. There was a cross appeal also by them against the

<sup>1</sup> Sir H. Moncreiff Wellwood's *Life of Dr. John Erskine*, p. 486.

claimant, and the decision was in their favour. There was nothing very singular in these complications of legal rights, as few estates in Scotland were not then affected to some extent in the same way, partly on account of the recent troubles, but more generally for the reason that before the institution of banking-houses people invested their money by loans on landed security, the rights of which were heritable, or might be sold. Various other cases occur in which the Colonel was a party, but which do not call for more particular reference, except that none of them, considered in their circumstances, warrant the assumption that he was a litigant from choice, or from any characteristic tendency. When an owner's rights are attacked he will naturally defend. That does not necessarily make him a litigious person. The traditional story about the Colonel's 'ruling passion' asserting itself on his death-bed has often been told. Alluding to his lawsuits, he said: 'I hae ten guid gangin' cases in the Court of Session, and that idiot Jock, my son, will be settlin' them a' in a month efter my death.' Mr. Ramsay adds: 'Accordingly, Mr. Erskine's first act of administration after his father's death was to compromise most of those disputes, some of which he referred to his opponents.' The public records, however, have not seldom a chilling effect on such current pleasantries; and in this instance it can be vouched that the Colonel had so far succeeded in making peace long before his demise, that only one case of any note remained undecided, and that through no fault of his. This was the process between him and the creditors on the estate of Cardross, which was not compromised, but insisted on by the aforesaid 'Jock' until a judgment was given in his favour about four years after the Colonel's death. Some years still later the same worthy son, of whom Mr. Ramsay says, 'peace and quiet were his darling luxuries, for even victory itself could not, in his opinion, make up for the trouble and vexation it cost to obtain it,' is found raising pleas in court for establishing his rights, just as his father did before him.

His second wife having died in 1723, the Colonel married

two years afterwards Lilias Stirling, daughter of the laird of Keir, and widow of John Murray of Polmaise. She died in 1729 without issue. He again married, after an interval of six months, as his fourth wife, Mary, daughter of Charles Stuart of Dunearn, by whom he had one child, Charles, born 12th February 1731. The particulars of his marriages and the births of his children were recorded by the Colonel in the family Bible, the boards of which are mounted in silver at the corners, with the initials of each wife engraved on the four corners respectively.

When staying in Edinburgh, the family mansion stood in Merlin's Wynd, hard by the Tron Church. The wynd was removed more than a century ago, to make way for South Bridge Street. His country residence was at Culross, and when riding thither from the capital, it is said that his usual course lay right through the park of Barnton. 'Without regard either to the rights or the convenience of the public, the proprietor of that estate got the road diverted from the old course, and he enclosed by a wall the park through a part of which it had passed. Whenever in coming or going they came up to this wall, the Colonel and his servant regularly dismounted, made a gap through it at either end, and kept to the old road.'<sup>1</sup>

Another anecdote illustrative of the Colonel's character is given by the same writer thus: 'During the last ten years of his life Colonel Erskine was afflicted with asthma. One day when he was suffering from an attack which put a fresh edge upon a temper naturally somewhat inclined to irritability, fires for burning kelp had been kindled, under authority of the magistrates, upon the beach of the Firth of Forth which lay immediately below his house at Culross. Imagining that the smoke aggravated his asthma, the Colonel sent down peremptory orders that the fires should be put out. They were not obeyed. Unable to walk, he at once called for his horse,

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Hanna's *Letters of Thomas Erskine of Linlathen*.

drew his sword, and handed it to his grandson, a youth of fourteen then living with him. Down through the steep street of the village they went, determined with their own hands to extinguish the fires. The magistrates were too quick and too many for them. Gathering their retainers, they surrounded the Colonel and his grandson and made them prisoners. The falseness and awkwardness of the position revealed themselves to him in a moment. Another fire, that of his own quick passion, was at once extinguished. "This is all nonsense," he said to the magistrates, "we are all wrong. Come along to the inn, and let us dine together and forget this folly." The invitation was accepted as promptly as it was given. The best dinner the innkeeper could produce was supplied, and the evening spent in perfect good humour. The youth who upon this occasion filled the somewhat ludicrous position of sword-bearer, marching before his grandfather, was no other than Dr. John Erskine, who afterwards became the eminent divine.<sup>1</sup>

As a successful agriculturist the Colonel is thus referred to : 'The estate of Tulliallan, which belonged to him, still attests both his zeal and his success as a planter. What was remarkable, he is said never to have protected a tree by a fence ; but every shepherd in the neighbourhood knew that he was watched, and was the more on his guard that the Colonel was commonly the executioner of his own sentences for trespasses within his plantations. He is honourably distinguished in the *Transactions of Scottish Agriculture*, about the year 1720.'<sup>2</sup>

To the record of the family written by our author on the blank leaves of the Bible already mentioned, there is added, in another hand : 'Colonel John Erskine dyed at Edinburgh, 13th January 1743, and was buried in the Grayfriars' Church, Monday the 17th January.' Some details of the funeral are given in the Appendix.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Hanna's *Letters of Thomas Erskine of Linlathen*.

<sup>2</sup> Sir H. M. Wellwood's *Life of Dr. Erskine*, p. 489. Nimmo, the historian of Stirlingshire, notes that the avenue of trees on the south side of the King's Park, at Stirling, was planted by Colonel Erskine.

Concerning the miniature which has been reproduced for the frontispiece of this volume, the owner believes it to be a contemporaneous portrait: it is mounted with a ring to pass a ribbon through, and with a gold back on which is the Colonel's monogram. A glance at the expressive features thus brought to view may go far to modify the impression of asperity of temper ascribed to him by some who never saw him.

The original of the *Journal* now printed is written, for the most part, in two small oblong pocket note-books, and completed in a small square one, the greater portion of which is left blank. These books, as well as the miniature, are in the possession of H. D. Erskine, Esquire, of Cardross, to whose kindness the Scottish History Society is indebted for the use of them for this volume.



CARDROSS HOUSE.

[From a photograph, 1893.]

# JOURNAL



## JOURNAL

JUNE, 1683.

5th.—I came from Torrie<sup>1</sup> this morning, and was at Stirling before the court sat. My Lord Collington, Castlehill, and Forret were appointed for the Justiceaire; but Perth, the Justice General, and Lord Maitland, the Justice Clerk, sat here. They went together from their lodging to the Church, and after sermon to the Tolbooth, where the court sat in their robes. The town magistrates were going before them, having a company of townsmen guarding the entry; after them were two trumpeters and the court macers, and then two heralds with their coats; and before the Lords the sherriff-deputes, walking bareheaded; after the Lords the principal sherriff and others, noblemen and gentlemen and others dwelling and freeholders within the shires, appointed to be at Stirling by the proclamation. After fencing the court, the suite rolls were called, and the absents fined: after noon the roll of pannells was called. The marquis of Athole went away before the sitting doun of the court.

6th.—This day they were almost wholly taken up in examining witnesses privately in the Justice General's lodgings. Dasher,<sup>2</sup> a Kippen laird, took the Test, and two or three other countrymen, and so were declared free, being the first who broke the ice.

I went from Stirling with Boquhan<sup>3</sup> at midnight, and having

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<sup>1</sup> The residence of his mother, the Dowager Lady Cardross, in the parish of Torryburn, and near Culross.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. William Leckie of Dasher, in the barony of Carden.

<sup>3</sup> In the parish of Gargunnock. William Cunningham, laird of Boquhan, was brother-in-law to the author of the Journal, having married his eldest sister, Margaret Erskine: she died sometime before the end of 1682.

the ports opened to us, we came to Boquhan about daylight. Next day I went from Boquhan to Cardross, and saw my Brother's children; and John Knox, and David Erskine was with me.

7th.—This morning, before the court sat, I came from Boquhan to Stirling. The pannells were all again called, and some few Fife and Stirlingshire Gentlemen took the Test, and, I think, upwards of thirty country men of Stirlingshire. They called them first, knowing they would take the Test, they might be as decoy dukks to lead on others, by following their example. Others, who refused the Test, enacted themselves to appear at Edinburgh the 18th of July next; and some, who had taken the Bond at Edinburgh after Bothwell, declaring upon oath that they had taken it, and that they would adhere to it. Mr. Gordon, the clerk, asked at some if they thought Bothwell a rebellion, and the Bishop's death a murther? If they were either silent or answered negative, it was crime enough. He enquired at them if they thought themselves any ways obliged by the Covenant to rise in arms against the King, and other questions of that nature.

8th.—The pannells were called this day again, and I think near 80 took the Test, but Houstoun of [that] Ilk,<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Cunningham of Boquhan refusing it, found caution to appear at Edinburgh the second Monday of November, the penalty of the first being 1200 merks, and Boquhan's 5000 merks.

9th.—This day the court ended for this place, many taking the Test, and some finding caution to appear at Edinburgh as before, and the absents declared fugitives. The numbers were in Stirlingshire about 120, in Fife 40, in Perth 12, in Kinross about 8. First in the court and then at the cross with sound of trumpet they were declared fugitives, and ordain'd to be denounced; and all persons discharged to converse with or harbour them, but ordained to apprehend them when they knew of them, under the pain of rebellion, or to raize the cry against them; and all this either for being at Bothwell, or conversing with, harbouring, or being in company with those who had been there. Persons who were there for other crimes,

<sup>1</sup> Sir Patrick Houstoun, created a Baronet in 1668. His estates lay in Renfrewshire, which he twice represented in Parliament.

and for the most part adultery, were smilingly bidden be loyal subjects and go home. There were about 50 or 60 adulterers who were either absent or dismissed with little done. Some who appeared had remissions under the great seal, some for other crimes than Bothwell, were only simply declared fugitives, so that I may say they were smilingly dismissed in comparison of others.

Will. Boggs, in Campsie parish, presenting a bond subscribed by Boggs in Campsie after Bothwell, but unwilling to depone positive that he was the man, and to take the Test, pretending he knew not what the Test was, the Justice General answered: The Test is only to adhere to the Protestant religion and be loyal to the King.<sup>1</sup> But he still shifting their questions, and not acknowledging Bothwell to be rebellion, nor the bishop's death a murther, was sentenced upon his own confession of being at Bothwell, to be taken to Glasgow, and hanged there on Wednesday next. He was much dealt with, and at last persuaded to take the Test by some of the assye, but because he made some reservations, and would not before the jury were sworn and set, and the sentence pronounced, it was refused him.

I went to Boquhan this night.

10th.—I stayed within all day, but at night went with Boquhan to see his father half a mile off, which was not right (if rightly consider'd) on the Lord's day, and inconsistent with my profession.

11th.—I came to Stirling with Boquhan before the Lords went away, and saw about 12 men take the Test, begging it on their knees, because they had been fugitated on Saturday.

I went amongst with the Lords (parting with Boquhan about St. Ninians, who went to Edinburgh) to Glasgow. They with their attendants dined at the Vicount of Killsyth's brother William's. The half of the King's Guard of horse, Balcarrass Troop, and a company of dragoons, attended the court.

<sup>1</sup> The Test, enacted in 1681, contained much which the Presbyterians approved; but the clause which they could not consistently swear was that declaring the King to be supreme 'in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil.' This was regarded as a usurpation of the supremacy of the Divine Head of the Church, and subversive of ecclesiastical discipline.

I dined in Kilsyth town with Will Preston my cousin,<sup>1</sup> one of Balcarasses troop. When we were within a little of Inchbelly bridge we saw a country house razed to the ground, where, on Friday last, David Murray,<sup>2</sup> one of the King's Guard, was killed, and Ballantine wounded, by about seven men who assaulted them on a sudden (and rescued Smith, who was to be hanged at Glasgow).

At Inchbelly bridge the Freeholders of Stirlingshire went back, and Dumbartonshire met the Lords; and before they were at Calder Clidsdaleshire met them, with Duke Hamilton and the Archbishop of Glasgow, with a great number of Horse, as was said more than 1000; next Renfrew gentlemen met them, and within two miles of Glasgow the magistrates and burgesses having a handsome aspect. It was thought they were in all more than 2000 horse. The Foot soldiers were under arms on both sides of the street, from the Port till where the Lords lighted and got some little treat from the Town. I heard that Perth said he had never seen a handsomer reception.<sup>3</sup>

Al. Henderson and I stayed together, and had a chamber in Ja. Witherspoon's, a taylour.

12th.—The lords sat in the Tolbooth. They came from the church to the court, as at Stirling: the suite rolls were called, and after noon the pannells.

13th.—James Hamilton of Parkhead, Robert Russel, James Russel, and Gawin Paterson in Bothwell, being absent, the assize was set upon them. The Laird of Walstoun,<sup>4</sup> Dalzel,<sup>5</sup> Airnock,<sup>6</sup> old Bredisholme,<sup>7</sup> Orbeston,<sup>8</sup> young Woodhall,<sup>9</sup> old

<sup>1</sup> The author's grandmother on the mother's side was Mary, daughter of Sir John Preston of Valleyfield, Baronet.

<sup>2</sup> This was David, brother-german of John Murray of Romanno, Peeblesshire. He married Agnes Scott, in 1673, and she survived him.

<sup>3</sup> This loyal demonstration was not necessarily spontaneous, as on 9th April 1683 the Privy Council gave order 'that noblemen, gentlemen, and freeholders, be punctually warned to attend the justices, and the absents fined.' The fines were to be uplifted 'without excuse.'

<sup>4</sup> This may be James Winrahame of Wistoun.

<sup>5</sup> Alexander Hamilton of Dalzel.

<sup>6</sup> John Robertoun of Ernock.

<sup>7</sup> Muirhead of Bredisholme. His son James refused the Test.

<sup>8</sup> Hamilton of Orbeston.

<sup>9</sup> James Hamilton was then Laird of Woodhall.

and young Knockmills, Lee,<sup>1</sup> Wischey,<sup>2</sup> Murdeston,<sup>3</sup> Bonington,<sup>4</sup> Cotts<sup>5</sup> took the Test; but some of them took it not this day, but before the Lords went from Glasgow some more gentlemen took it and about 60 commons.

William Bogge was hanged on a very high gallows before the Tolbooth in the view of all the four streets. He spoke little and seemed to be timorous; some said he was ignorant.

The Court sat in the Merchants' Hospital, near the bridge.

14th.—James Hamilton of Parkhead, Robert Russel, portioneer of Windyedge, were forfeit in absence as being at Bothwell according to their lybels. It was said for some of them that they had no arms; but the King's advocate said that was debate before, and found that a man without arms was as guilty as one with them, because it imported greater forwardness.

Jo. M'Qharrie and Ja. Smith were found guilty by an assize for being at Bothwell, by their own confession, and being at the killing of Da. Murray by probation, they being (as the witnesses said) seen very hot and calling for drink some miles south from Inchbelly, and then pursued and apprehended in Hamilton wood, and some arms found, as was said, in one of their coats. Both their right hands were cut off on the scaffold, and then they were hanged. Their hands and heads were put on Glasgow Tolbooth, and both their bodies hung at Inchbelly Bridge, on both sides of the road. They got no time on the scaffold, but both dispatched as soon as could be. John M'Qharrie was very courageous, holding out the bloody arm, and forbidding people to be afraid for suffering, and calling it the blood of the Covenant. I was credibly informed afterwards that he was a very knowing, and the other an exercised Christian. One who heard them told me they denied the killing of Da. Murray. About 7 or 8 score of people took the Test.

15th.—The gentlemen of Clidsdale being called upon, they all, except one or two, refusing the Test, found caution to

<sup>1</sup> Cromwell Lockhart was then Laird of Lee.

<sup>2</sup> William Hamilton of Wishaw, ancestor of Lord Belhaven.

<sup>3</sup> Turner, Laird of Murdeston.

<sup>4</sup> Sir James Carmichael.

<sup>5</sup> John Hamilton of Coatts.

appear at Edinburgh the 24th July. The names of some of them I inquired after, and they are Sir Da. Carmichael,<sup>1</sup> Hacraig,<sup>2</sup> Spertone,<sup>3</sup> Hassides,<sup>4</sup> Boogs,<sup>5</sup> young Bredisholme,<sup>6</sup> Cleland<sup>7</sup> y'r, Pollock Maxwell,<sup>8</sup> Duchal,<sup>9</sup> Luss,<sup>10</sup> Lachop,<sup>11</sup> Craignethen,<sup>12</sup> Hags,<sup>13</sup> Hardintown,<sup>14</sup> Kincaid,<sup>15</sup> Westburn,<sup>16</sup> Housil,<sup>17</sup> Hertwood,<sup>18</sup> Glanderston,<sup>19</sup> Cloburn,<sup>20</sup> Corrus,<sup>21</sup> James Young, chamberlain of Evandale. All these gentlemen refused the Test at Glasgow, and about 50 commons took the Test.

16th.—A great number of country people were called this day, and many about Hamilton and Glasgow refused the Test, of whom about forty were committed to prison; yet some took the Test. Mr. Th. Hamilton of Raith was forfault in absence for being at Bothwell, Ja. Maxwell of Williamwood, and Jo. Maxwell of Bogtown, were forfault on Thursday for Bodwell,<sup>22</sup> and in absence. The Lords sat till ten o'clock at night, and presently after they arose they got a treat from the town.

17th.—I stayed in my chamber till the afternoons sermon was ended, and then I inquired for Ja. Johnston, who came to me at night and took me to Mrs. Forrester's, who was shortly come from Monteith, and staying at Glasgow privately with three of her children.

18th.—The persons imprisoned Saturday last were liberat, finding caution, as the gentlemen had done, to appear at Edinburgh, etc. I saw the Justices by the Gorbals on their journey to Air. I heard the King's Advocate (in a discourse pressing the Test) say, as shure as the sun shined in heaven there should not be a man in Scotland who, within six months, should not either take the Test or leave Scotland (using, I

<sup>1</sup> Sir Daniel Carmichael of Mauldsie, son of James first Lord Carmichael.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. John Hamilton of Halcraig, afterwards a Lord of Session.

<sup>3</sup> May refer to the laird of Esperston in Midlothian.

<sup>4</sup> James Hamilton of Halsyde. <sup>5</sup> John Hamilton of Bogs.

<sup>6</sup> James Muirhead. <sup>7</sup> Several lairds of this surname refused the Test.

<sup>8</sup> Sir John Maxwell, of Pollok, Baronet. <sup>9</sup> John Porterfield of Duchal.

<sup>10</sup> Sir James Colquhoun. <sup>11</sup> Gavin Muirhead of Lauchop.

<sup>12</sup> Mr. Andrew Hay of Craignethen. <sup>13</sup> Sir Alexander Hamilton of Haggis.

<sup>14</sup> William Baillie of Hardington.

<sup>15</sup> Mr. John Kincaid of Corsbasket.

<sup>16</sup> Gabriel Hamilton of Westburn.

<sup>17</sup> James Dunlop of Househill.

<sup>18</sup> James Stewart of Hartwood.

<sup>19</sup> William Muir of Glanderston.

<sup>20</sup> Andrew Kennedy or Weir of Clowburn.

<sup>21</sup> John Bannatyne of Corehouse.

<sup>22</sup> Bothwell.

think, the same expression). This was said either at Glasgow or Stirling. I went with Jas. Johnston to see Mr. Tho. Robb, and then to my horse at one o'clock, and came to the Laird of Blairs (Spence) after sun set, where I stayed all night.

19th.—Afternoon, I came to Culross and was with Da. Mitchell, Will. Adam, and Will. Burns's. At night I came to Torrie, where was my mother, my two sisters, and Miss Jean Lumsden, my cousin german.

20th.—I went to the Valleyfield with Miss J. Lumsden, where I saw my aunt, the Lady Innergelly, who, having come from Edinburgh this day, told that Earlstoun<sup>1</sup> was brought prisoner there on Saturday last; and of a report that he had discovered some noblemen and others of haveing a design to rize in arms against the government,<sup>2</sup> but it was thought a lie that he either could or had discovered any such thing.

21st.—This morning I went to the pouting with Broomhall's<sup>3</sup> three sons, Pat. Sands, and my brother William. We lodged all night at Cleish Kirk.

22d.—We came home.

23d.—I went to Valleyfield with my brother Will.

24th.—I stayed at home all day, but heard no preaching.

25th.—Will. and Cha., my brothers, went for Edinburgh.

Tho. Bruce came from Culross to Torrie with me, and stayed all night.

26th.—I went to Torryburn with Alex<sup>r</sup> Lumsden and Th. Bruce, and played at the Byas Bowls with Geo. Grierson.

My brothers came from Edinburgh about midnight.

27th.—Rob<sup>t</sup> Preston and Will. Adam were in Torrie.

Charles should have taken ship this day for Holland, but the ship he should have sailed in was gone before he was at the shore.

Ja. Spence was all night in Torrie.

28th.—My eldest brother came to Torrie this night.

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Gordon of Earlstoun, one of a family noted for great suffering in the cause of religion and liberty. He had already been condemned in absence for treason in 1680.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to the Ryehouse Plot.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Alexander Bruce of Broomhall, cadet of Carnock, afterwards fourth Earl of Kincardine. He was uncle to the author.

29th.—My brother Charles went about 3 in the morning to old Jo. Ritchie's ship, intending for Rotterdam.

He was to learn at Holland book-keeping and the languages.

Will. and I went to Aloa this morning with our oldest brother, and then went to the waterside at Poumaise and saw him over. We went then to Aloa, and then to Clackmanan with my Lord Mar, and then home.

30th.—I was in the Valleyfield till it was late.

JULY 1st.—Sabbath, 1683. I stayed at home all this day, Mr. Alex<sup>r</sup> Dalgleish being in Torrie.

2d.—I went to Culross, and stayed all night in Broomhalls, with his son Alexander.

3d.—I dined with my Lady Kincardine, and coming home by the Valleyfield, saw my aunt.

There was a Council now sitting at Edinburgh, altho it had been adjourned to a longer time.

4th.—I went to the Blair with my aunt and her two daughters, Jean and Magn.

5th.—I was in Cromie seeing my Lady Colvill with my aunt.<sup>1</sup>

Yesterday there were three proclamations at Edinburgh. One anent the English Rebels, to take and apprehend them, or any of them, till he be tryed. The Duke of Monmouth and Lord Grey are rated at £500 each. This was talked to be a plot newly discovered and father'd upon some English Lords and the Presbyterians, as designing to subvert the Government and take away the King's life.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> proclamation was that the Spanish Millrees pass current, and that there be no money coined till a Parliament. The 3<sup>rd</sup>, that all Officers of State, Counsellors, Magistrates, Army Sherriffs, &c., wait punctually upon their respective employments, and go no where off the kingdom, and no person of trust to go off from Edinburgh.

6th.—I went to Auchterderren with my Lady, where she

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<sup>1</sup> Margaret, daughter of David Wemyss of Fingask, wife of Robert, second Lord Colvill of Ochiltree. She was left a widow in 1671, and was subjected to much persecution for conscience sake.

intended to drink of a well lately come in request. It was half a mile east from the kirk of Auchterderren.

We lodged in a house east from the kirk.

*7th.*—I was at the well in the morning, and drunk about a quart for the fashion ; it was of a mild taste and clear. It was told me that a fortnight before this there was twelve or fifteen hundred people at it. We came home this night.

*8th.*—I stayed at home all day, my aunt being in Torrie.

*9th.*—I dined in the Valleyfield, and was a while with Daniel Carmichael there.

*10th.*—I came from Torrie to Edinburgh with my aunt and Miss Magdalen Erskine. On Saturday last Sir William Scott of Harden, older, was committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh. Yesterday the Lords of Justiciary came from Jedburgh to Edinburgh ; the magistrates met them with the train-bands. They did little this day but called the suit Roll.

*11th.*—A great many Mid Lothian gentlemen took the Test, 40 or 50, if not more, and some countrymen besides.

*12th.*—East Lothian gentlemen took the Test freely ; they went to Lord Wintoun's chamber ; and West Lothian to my Lord Collingtoun's chamber, because the taking the Test took up much time in the Court. For the most part they took the Test freely, not being in the Porteous Roll,<sup>1</sup> as was said, To testify their loyalty to be good examples to others, they were called Volunteers.

Mr. Aitken, who was apprehended with Earlston, was sentenced to be hanged in the Grassmarket, for simply being in company and conversing with Earlstoun ; and Andrew Goulen was condemned to be taken to the cross of Edinburgh, and first both his hands (he being alive) to be cut off at the gallows foot, and then to be hanged, his head and one hand to be affixed on the Netherbow port, his other hand on the Tolbooth of Coupar, and his body hung on Magus Moor, for being present at the killing of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, but was not active, and, as was said, he held their horses.

Mr. Aitken's day was Friday come eight days.

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<sup>1</sup> The criminal roll, containing the names of the accused to be tried before the circuit court of justiciary.

13th.—Goulen was executed this day; he spoke distinctly and suffered patiently. He was not suffered to sing Psalms on the scaffold, which he regreted, having, as he said, found great delight in that part of worship. He was a webster.

14th.—I was with Mr. Jo. C. M. and Jo. Sqy.<sup>1</sup> I was seeing also Mr. Jo. Nta.

15th.—I heard Mr. Jo. Ctn., Isa. 25. 4. I supped with my aunt.

16th.—On Saturday last, when the Justiceaire ended, the absents were declared fugitives, both in the court and over the cross, by Heralds and sound of trumpet.

There was about 120 in Mid Lothian, 100 in East Lothian, and 100 in West Lothian, were declared fugitives, and ordain'd to be denounced, etc.

On Friday last, Sir Robert St. Clair of Stevenston, Ormiston,<sup>2</sup> Lamentoun,<sup>3</sup> Prestongrange,<sup>4</sup> found caution to compear—the penalty of £1000 of some, and some less. They refused the Test. I came from Edinburgh to Gorton<sup>5</sup> with my cousin, Alexander Preston.

17th.—I went to Roslin, where there are three or four stone vaults, one above another. I was also in the wood, where there are great variety of herbs.

18th.—I went and saw the Cunnigare. I had a letter from L. W. R.

19th.—I stayed much in the house. This day, Hathornden, who had been in the class with me, came to Gorton.

20th.—I went to Hathornden, and thought it a pleasant and solitary place. The house stands above a water on a steep rock.

21st.—On Wednesday, Thirty acres,<sup>6</sup> in Stirlingshire, and Mr. Robert Cleland in Fife, were imprisoned for not taking the Test.

<sup>1</sup> These ciphers apparently denote *outed* ministers, whose names in full might endanger themselves or the writer of the Journal.

<sup>2</sup> Adam Cockburn of Ormiston, afterwards Lord Justice-Clerk, and a privy councillor.

<sup>3</sup> William Baillie of Lamington.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Alexander Morison of Prestongrange.

<sup>5</sup> Gorton, a barony in Midlothian, formerly called Preston, and belonging to the family of that name, who also owned Craigmillar.

<sup>6</sup> John Forrester of Thirty Acres.

I came from Gorton to Edinburgh this morning.

22d.—I heard Mr. Jo. Law,<sup>1</sup> John 17. 15, and 2 Cor. 1. 5; and also Mr. Rgld, 1st Cor. 3. 21, 22. 23.

Prisoners were frequently brought to, and some apprehended in, Edinburgh all this time.

23d.—Since Saturday night there were guards about the ports, walls, and abbay, and this day another company added within the town for guards, as some said because there was an insurrection designed, others that the town was to be burnt, with several other very ridiculous reports and impertinent to be written, and in the end their great fears produced nothing but jealousies.

24th.—This was a day of compearance for a great many west country gentlemen, one gentleman or two, and about 20 country people, took the Test; then Duchal, Housel, Stevenson of Morehead,<sup>2</sup> Westburn, Houstoun of Johnstoun,<sup>3</sup> Ballantine of Corrus, some more gentlemen, and, I think, there was many country people, were all imprisoned for not taking the Test, altho for the most part they were content to purge themselves of the alleged crimes by biding a trial.

Clouburn and young Bredisholme were declared fugitives for not compearing.

25th.—Craigens,<sup>4</sup> Crainethen, Hirtwood, and Glanderston were imprisoned, and, I think, some country people.

The 17th of this month being the day to which the Parliament was adjourned, its not sitting then nor being adjourned to a longer day was thought a material dissolution.

26th.—Hamilton of Monkland<sup>5</sup> was almost every day before the Lords, and was desired to submitt to the King's mercy, but he denying a great part of the lybel, would not, seeing it implied a guilt and was to confess a lie. He excepted against the assize because the number of Barons were not made up which ought to be on a Baron's assize.

27th.—Sir Da. Carmichael was declared fugitive, Ormeston,

<sup>1</sup> Minister at Campsie, but 'outed' and sometime imprisoned for keeping conventicles.

<sup>2</sup> George Muirhead of Stevington.

<sup>3</sup> George Houstoun of Johnstoun.

<sup>4</sup> Alexander Cunningham of Craigends.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Hamilton of Monkland.

Steinson, Lamentoun, Dunterve,<sup>1</sup> Black-castle,<sup>2</sup> Douglas of Bads,<sup>3</sup> Lothian gentlemen, Pollock Maxwell, Bogs, Hallcraig, Clowburn, Greenock,<sup>4</sup> East barrens,<sup>5</sup> Inglis, portioner of East barrens,<sup>6</sup> Da. Oswald, and about 30 country people, were imprisoned, and some more than I have named. James Young, chamberlain of Evandale, James Stewart of Torrence, and about twelve country people, took the Test.

28th.—I came from Edinburgh this morning, and dined at Halyards with my Lady Kiocardine and my Lord her son, who were drinking of the wells. Afternoon I came to Kirkhill, and got a horse of my brother's, and came to Bannockburn, and lodged in the officer's house, who kept an inn.

29th.—This being the Sabbath, I desired not to stay in an unknown house, least they had suspected me for not going to church, so I came to Boquhan.

30th.—I came this morning from Boquhan to Cardross ; Gartur<sup>7</sup> was there.

31st.—I was in the fields with John Knox, and went down the water with Da. Erskine.

This was the day of compearance for the shires of Air, Wigtoun, etc., at Edinburgh.

AUGUST 1st, Wednesday, 1683.—I began this day to read Buchanan's chronicle. Boquhan was here this day.

2d.—Mr. Alexander Heygins was here.

3rd.—I stayed within reading on Boquhannan's chronicle.

4th.—I went to Gartur afternoon, and got much rain.

5th.—I stayed in my chamber ; I heard no sermon.

6th.—I was a while with Ja. Sommerville and Da. Erskine.

There were six indulged ministers called before the Counsel last week, two of whom were committed to prison, the rest delayed to November.

7th.—Some gentlemen were imprisoned since I came from Edinburgh. Sir Da. Carmichael compeared and was imprisoned.

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Durham of Duntervie.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Patrick Hepburn of Blackcastle.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. William Douglas.

<sup>4</sup> Sir John Shaw of Greenock.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. David Oswald of Eastbarns.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Patrick Inglis.

<sup>7</sup> Mr. Walter Grahame of Gartur.

8th.—I stayed at home reading Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland.

9th.—The Scots Presbyterians in Ireland were silenced Sabbath was eight days, which made many that had fled out of Galloway the last year, because of Claverhouse' persecution, and some out of other parts of the country, return home, chusing rather to suffer with the rest of their countrymen at home than in a strange place, altho few of them wanted some friends in Ireland.

10th.—I was some time reading with my brother in his closet.

11th.—I went to Kippen with Da. Erskine to seek Jo. Knox, but found him not.

12th.—Yesterday I saw Shirgarton's<sup>1</sup> wife at her house.

I heard no preaching, but read on Guthrie's Saving Interest.

Mr. Alexander Heygin came here. He told me the gentlemen who were imprisoned were now at liberty, some by being tried and absolved, as Ormeston; Stinson, Lamentoun, and others found caution to compear at particular days.

13th.—I went this day to Mochaster with Mr. Heygins and Da. Erskine, who held the Baron Court of Stragertney. The men were for the most part tall and handsome. My head was sore by their continual snuffing and piping in the court.

I was in Lennie,<sup>2</sup> and as I went away Lieutenant-General Drummond came there, who was going to hold a court in Lochaber, being out in the commission for holding courts to suppress thievery in the Highlands. Perth was to be at Lochaber, his companies of foot followed Drummond.

14th.—I saw John Knox.

15th.—I came from Cardross this morning, and stayed in Boquhan a while, and came to Torrie at night. John Crokat was in Torrie, not daring to stay in Culross, for withdrawing from the church.

16th.—I came from Torrie to Edinburgh. The Parliament that was thought by all to be dissolved, seeing it neither sat

<sup>1</sup> James Ure of Schirgarton, Stirlingshire, who was at this time in hiding for attending conventicles. In 1684 his lady was seized for conversing with him, and was with her infant child imprisoned for some weeks.

<sup>2</sup> Leny, near Callander.

the 17th of July, being the day to which it was adjourned, nor yet continued to a longer day at that time, was this day or the day before, by a proclamation of the Counsel, continued and adjourned till December next.

The Bishop of St. Andrews came from court the last week.

For the most part all the gentlemen who were imprisoned for being on the Porteous roll were liberat for finding caution to compear at set days.

Vienna was now strongly besieged by the Turks, having 150,000 men. Count Tekeli, the head of the Protestants of Hungary, who had taken the Turks protection against the Emperour for maintenance of their religion and priviledges, he had 60,000 men.

The Dissenters, or rather those persecuted in Scotland for religion, were more gently dealt with than for several months before, but ministers were not favoured.

I quartered in William Vetch's, taylour.

17th.—I was with Mr. John Law.

I was in the printer's who was printing our Theses, with David Arnot (my kind comrade). I sought my Regent several times (for he had desired me by a letter to come to the Law-reation), but found him not: however, I was resolved not to be present, seeing the qualification, or rather test, by which all were to be tryed who were to be priviledged with the name, was the oath of supremacy, because I saw not (and keeping a good conscience) how I, by my presence, could countenance that action, and it that oath of usurped supremacy which indeed in conscience I ought to disown. Our Theses were dedicated to the Chancellour.

I came from Edinburgh to the Queensferry about 9 at night, and stayed all night with Mr. Alexander Dalgliesh in his mother's.

18th.—This morning I wrote a letter to my brother Charles in Holland (who stayed in Dort)—John Preston going in James Dalgliesh's ship to Rotterdam. I came to Cardross.

19th.—I went no where from Cardross.

20th.—Gartur and his brother Robert were in Cardross.

21st.—I stayed at home.

22d.—I went to Gartur with my brother, goodsister, and Veronica.

23d.—Gartur and his brother Robert were in Cardross.

24th.—I went to Aberfoil with Veronica and Gartur, David, my brother's eldest son, and George Reed. We saw the sluices my Lord Menteath has at the head of Forth, and the scalie<sup>1</sup> he has for sale at Forth. Being on the easter Isle of Menteath we saw the remains of the Priory of Inchmachomo,<sup>2</sup> which may be known to have been a great building by the old walls remaining: we saw a through-stone whereon was writing, but could not distinctly understand the characters, having no time to cleanse the stone of earth and mud lying on it. We thought some were perfect Scots characters, and as it were the Greek letter  $\omega$  omega. We saw several images of stone and some popish works. Gartur shewed us a rock, a piece whereof fell about the decease of any of Menteath's family.

25th.—I went to Stragertney with Da. Erskine, and first to the foot of Loch Katharine, getting a guide to go along with us, who led us up a steep rugged craig at the foot of the Loch, from whence we got a sight of the country; from whence we went through Lanerk and other places, for the most part riding through pleasant woods of oak upon loch sides, till we came to Mochaster.<sup>3</sup> We went on foot along Kilmachomy Bridge to Lennie,—it was a long bridge of timber. We came home after sunset.

26th.—I was at home all day. J. Knox was here.

27th.—I came to Boquhan this afternoon. J. K. came after me a little.

28th.—There was much rain this day, so we stayed within all day.

29th.—I came from Boquhan to Torrie. Mrs. Mag. Erskine and Jo. Crockat was there.

<sup>1</sup> Slate.

<sup>2</sup> The larger of two islets in the Loch of Menteith, on which are the ruins of the ancient priory, where Queen Mary spent part of her childhood. The 'place and mansion of Inchmahomo,' with fishings on the loch, etc., were, with the lands and barony of Cardross, erected into the temporal lordship of Cardross by crown charter, dated at Whitehall 27 March 1604.

<sup>3</sup> An estate in Strathgartney, formerly belonging to the Balfours of Burlie, and later to the Glenurchay Campbells.

30th.—I went to the fields with my brother Will., who slew 6 partridges, with a spar hauke.

31st.—I went to Culross with my mother, and was with my Lady Kincardine and in Will. Adams.

SEPTEMBER 1st, 1683.—I got little read, being frequently with the shearers. Jo. Spens was in Torrie.

2d.—I heard Mr. Jo. Yle.

3d.—Will. Adam was here and Alexander Colvill.

4th.—I went the length of Valleyfield brae with my brother Will., where we met Ballie Blaw, and brought him to Torrie. Will. went to Jo. Blackater's burial, after dinner, with him.

5th.—The Lady Blair and her son Broomhall, Miss J. Lumsden, Lady Gask's son, Mr. Alexander Dalgleish, and David Erskine, were here.

6th.—The rain stopped harvest work.

7th.—Mr. Ro. Anderson was here. I heard Mr. Jo. Dick<sup>2</sup> was taken about 14 days ago, and now sentenced to die the latter end of this month.

8th.—The Lady Gask<sup>1</sup> and her son dined here.

9th.—I heard Mr. R. A., Isa. 22. v. 12, 13, 14; and Mr. Jo. Yle, Psalm 119. 165.

This was the day appointed by the King, to be keeped in all his dominions as a fast day, for his delivery from the late conspiracy designed by the presbyterians, as the printed paper says; it was indeed a day of insulting and triumphing over poor presbyterian people. Many who had gone to church withdrew this day.

10th.—J. K. came to Torrie this night.

11th.—I was seeing the corn cut in the barnyard, and whiles forking.

12th.—J. Crockat was with me. I stayed now daily at home.

13th.—Mr. Jo. Gibbon and J. K. were with me a while.

14th.—I saw Will. Paton; Will. Sythrum came here this night.

<sup>1</sup> Anna Preston, second daughter of Sir George Preston of Valleyfield, widow of Laurence Oliphant, younger, of Gask. Her son George succeeded to Gask.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. John Dick, student of divinity, son of David Dick, writer in Edinburgh.

15th.—Mr. J. Lumsden and Mr. Shaw came to Torrie.

16th.—I stayed at home all day.

17th.—I stayed at home. David Erskine came here.

18th.—About the middle of June the Lady Anne, the Duke of York's daughter, was married to Prince George, the King of Denmark's brother. I went to Alva with my brother Will., and from that to Alloa, and saw my Lady Mar. About the 28th August last my Lord Mar took journey for London.

19th.—I went to the fields with Jo. Spence and my brother William.

Sabbath last 21 persons escaped from the Tolbooth of Edinburgh (after the sentry went away from the Tolbooth about day light), by coming out of a window and sliding down on a tow. Mr. John Dick was one, I may say the chief one. All that escaped were in for religion, except two Dragoons for killing a man, and one for debt.<sup>1</sup> I heard that some escaped out of the Tolbooths of Glasgow and Lanark the same day.

20th.—I was winding and thirding some corn, and Will. Sythrum with me. I was in the Valleyfield with J. K. in the afternoon.

22d.—I went no where, but gathered some herbs with J. K. and Will. Sythrum.

23d.—I heard Mr. Robert A., Sam. 22. v. 12, 13, 14.

24th.—I went to Broomhall and Pitliver, with my Lady<sup>2</sup> and Mrs. M. Erskine.

25th.—The fields were all covered with snow, both north and in Lothian. I stayed at home.

26th.—The frost continued. I was a while in the barn with Will. Sythrum.

27th.—I went to the Iron mill with John Knox, whose company was edifying. Will. Sythrum was with us; at night I went to Culross for my Lady.

There was a play acted, called the Turks defeat, only to gull peoples minds with the belief of the Turks being beat by the Emperour from Vienna, altho the contrary was asserted.

<sup>1</sup> The magistrates of Edinburgh were, by the King's orders, arraigned before the Privy Council, for their alleged negligence on this occasion. They were eventually let off with a reprimand.

<sup>2</sup> This designation seems to refer to his mother.

28th.—Alexander and Thomas Bruce were going to Culross, and I went through the parks with them.

29th.—S<sup>r</sup> Alexander Bruce of Broomhall dined in Torrie.

30th.—I stayed at home, Jo. L. being in the family.

OCTOBER 1st.—Monday. I went little abroad. Mr. J. Lumsden and Miss Is. Preston was in Torrie.

2d.—I went to Culross with J. K., and left him in Will. Adams.

3d.—I went to Broomhall with my Lady.

4th.—I was at the burial of Ad. Stobie, portioner of West Luscar.<sup>1</sup>

5th.—S<sup>r</sup> Will. Preston of Valleyfield dined here. J. K. and Will. Sythrum came from Culross.

6th.—I stayed at home with J. K.

Mr. R. Anderson came this night.

7th.—I heard Mr. R. A., Phil. 1. 23.

8th.—I went to see my Lady Colvill, Mr. Carmichael's Lady, in Cromie, with my Lady.

9th.—I went not from home. John Crockat was in Torry.

10th.—I was copying something out of S. R.<sup>2</sup>'s peaceable plea.<sup>2</sup>

11th.—I was at home all day.

12th.—I stayed within writing some things of my own.

13th.—And. Stirk came here and John Micklehose, from Kippen, to J. K.

14th.—I heard no preaching.

15th.—Will. Adam dined in Torrie.

16th.—I went to Culross with J. K., and came home with Mr. Rgt.

17th.—I went to the Valleyfield with Mr. Robt. rei. . John Crockat was here.

18th.—Jo. Spence and Mag. Erskine were in Torrie.

19th.—I went towards Inziver Dam with J. K.

20th.—I went to the Valleyfield with J. K.

21st.—I heard Mr. Th. rec. Matt. 26. 40.

<sup>1</sup> This laird had suffered heavily since 1670, by fines and imprisonment, for attending conventicles. His wife and family were also persecuted.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to Samuel Rutherford's 'Peaceable Plea for Presbytery.'

22d.—I came from Torrie to Edinburgh with my Lady, and Miss Jean Lumsden, and stayed in Mrs. Brisbain's, at the Nether Bow.

23d.—I was with Mr. Jo. nla and Mr. Etn and Jo. Sqy.

24th.—I went to see Sr Will. Preston in the Abbey. Newton Bruce<sup>1</sup> was with him.

25th.—Hew Paterson of Banockburn was with my Lady, speaking anent my being in his writing chamber all this winter.

26th.—I spoke with Banockburn, and was a while in his writing chamber. He had the keeping of the Signet office.

28th.—I heard Mr. Jo. nla., i. Tim. 4. 7, and exercise, etc.

29th.—I sent a letter to my sister Veronica at Cardross.

30th.—I was in the Castle, and in Bannockburn's writing chamber, where I was now resolved to be this session comming.

31st.—I sent away a letter to Holland for my brother Charles, and one for LWR. I was in my aunt's this afternoon.

NOVEMBER 1st, 1683, Thursday.—This was the first day of the Session. I began to write my stile book this day. I was with Mr. J. ctn and Jo. sqy.

2d.—There was little thing done in the Session the first two days, but the members of and dependants on the court wishing one another a good session and shaking hands.

3d.—The Chancellour came from the north to the abbey, and many went to meet him.

4th.—I heard Mr. Jo. nla, i. Thes. 5. 19, quench not the Spirit.

5th.—This night I gave the lads in our chamber a glass of wine and a supper, that I might make my acquaintance with them, and they have a custom in brothering to cause the person on his knees hear what they have to say, but I might and ought to have refused that needless ceremony. This was always kept as a day of thanksgiving since for the discovery of the Popish conspiracy in King James's time, but this day there was no preaching in Edinburgh, nor yet any cannon shot in the castle, nor the flag put out, and I saw the King's order dis-

<sup>1</sup> William Bruce of Newton, Stirlingshire.

charging all unnecessary waste of powder, and not a gun on any anniversary except the King's birthday, 29th May, and Gouries conspiracy, 5th August, without an order from the Master of Ordnance, but the Provost of Edinburgh caused put one bonfire, altho I heard he was warned to forbear by the Chancellour.

6th.—This day the King's Advocate came here, having been at court.

7th.—I dined with Boquhan, who came to town the day before.

8th.—Duke Hamilton<sup>1</sup> appeared this day before the Counsel, being summoned for a house conventicle held on the ground whereof he was sherriff, and for his not pursuing of the persons. When the King's Advocate spoke to him, making some supposition, he said he ought not to be judged by the suppositions of that gentleman, but by law. The Chancellour said to the Duke, when he insisted on his vindication, it must not go so. The words some say the Chancellour spoke to the advocate, meaning because he had raised a lybel against the Duke of Hamilton, and did not prove it, so that he ought not now to be insisted against with words, but assoylied. But, however, the Duke giving his oath that he had not advertisement in ten days, by the person on whose ground it was, was assoylied, and the person in whose it was, fined in £50 sterling, having recourse off their servant. Mr. Rainie<sup>2</sup> was preacher, sent from Holland. This Rainie was done with the Colledge but about two years before this. Mr. Thomas Hogg<sup>3</sup> was called, and Cardell, his cautioner, who was bound to present him under the pain of 10,000 merks. He was desired to depone whether or not he had preached, baptised, married, or given

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<sup>1</sup> The duke was not in favour with the Court party. He had been complained against for scrupling to take the Test; and was turned out of the Council for resenting their proceedings against Baillie of Jerviswood.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. James Renwick, minister. For lack of a presbytery in Scotland, when the ministers were in prison or in exile, he was sent to complete his studies at the University of Groningen; and was ordained by a Dutch presbytery. He continued to preach to the scattered remnant until the spring of 1688, when he was seized and executed in Edinburgh, in the twenty-sixth year of his age.

<sup>3</sup> Minister of Kiltearn in Ross-shire. He survived the persecution, and was again settled in his church. (See the *Narrative of James Nimmo*, of this series.)

the sacrament since his liberation, but he refusing to depone, was sent to prison, and fined in 5000 merks, and after that to be at liberty, finding caution under the pain of other 5000 merks not to preach, etc., or to go off the kingdom, and to find caution not to return under the same penalty.

9th.—I stayed in the writing chamber both the forenoon and afternoon.

10th.—My aunt, Mr. Carr, who married the Lady Nunholes, Clowburn, and Boquhan dined with my Lady.

I saw the Treasurer come in this night, and about 13 coaches with him, and I think 150 horse, with the magistrates of Edinburgh.

I saw not the Chancellour come in, but for what I heard he had not so great a welcome.

11th.—I heard Mr. Jo. Law, Psalm 123. 1 and Jer. 5. 25.

12th.—This day about 150 people answered at the criminal court, whereof about 30 and upwards were gentlemen, and twelve of these confined within Edinburgh. About 20 country people were declared fugitives, some excused, and others continued till the 2d Monday of January.

Mr. Thomas Gordon, the clerk, refused to take any money for the giving bond at this time, and said it was no forced pull, but believe him not.

14th.—This day the Scots gentlemen who were prisoners in London, some of them being apprehended on suspicion of their having a hand in the late plot, landed this day at Leith. They were guarded with a squad of the King's Guards, and the greatest part of the town's company, and were carried to the Nether bow port in coaches, and from that walked on foot to the Tolbooth, being divided among the ranks of the Foot, and the horse going before.

They were kept close prisoners, and divided in several rooms. Their names are, old and young Rowallans,<sup>1</sup> old and young Cesnock,<sup>2</sup> Jerriswood,<sup>3</sup> Commissary Monro,<sup>4</sup> Crawfordland,<sup>5</sup> Brunts-

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Muir of Rowallan, Ayrshire, and William his eldest son.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Hew Campbell of Cesnock and his son.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Robert Baillie of Jerviswood.

<sup>4</sup> Alexander Munro of Bearcrofts.

<sup>5</sup> John Crawfurd of Crawfordland.

field,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Ro. Murray of Tippermore, Mr. Will. Carstairs, minister, and Mr. Spence,<sup>2</sup> servant to the Earl of Argyle.

My mother went for Torrie, and my eldest brother came to town this day.

The Chancellour, Treasurer, and others of the Counsel sat.

15th.—I was with my brother.

The Counsel sat, and Sir William Scott of Harden was found liable to pay a fine for his wife's withdrawing from the church and having a minister in the house. The fine, wherein he had been fined before for his wife, being fourty six thousand pounds Scots, was by the Counsel restricted to £1500 Sterling, if he would pay that within fifteen days, and also his Lady walk orderly, and if in any of these they failed, he was to enter prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh after the expiring of the 15 days, and to pay the first fine.

16th.—This day Mr. Will. Spence, one of the prisoners who came from London, was put in irons, and in a chamber alone.

17th.—I was at the consulting of Sir George Lockhart,<sup>3</sup> anent an abuse committed at the house of Cardross, Monday last, by one Christie in Down, and a messenger, who brought along about 40 armed men.

18th.—I heard Mr. Will. cga, Psa. 46.

19th.—I entered to John Melvill's, Friday last, where I boarded.

20th.—I was in the Tolbooth seeing Mr. Thomas Hogg.

I was seeing also Mr. John Law.

21st.—This day I waited from two of the clock till seven at night on Sir George Lockhart, and was about two hours with him; after that I was all night with my brother. I received a letter from my brother Charles, dated Rotterdam, 22d October.

22d.—I sent letters to Cardross. I was seeing Mr. John Sqy. The Council sat, and I heard they were upon the silencing of the indulged men.

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<sup>1</sup> William Fairlie of Bruntsfield, Edinburgh.

<sup>2</sup> He was secretary to the earl.

<sup>3</sup> Sir George Lockhart of Carnwath, afterwards Lord President of the College of Justice. Shortly after the Revolution he was assassinated by John Chiesly of Dalry.

23d.—Earlston<sup>1</sup> was to be put in the boots this day, but there was difficulty, except by wiles, to get him out of the Tolbooth, seeing he was something beside himself, if not really distracted, ever since he heard of the King's letter for putting him to a further trial when he was before the Council, and after some interrogatories were read, they enquired what he said to these. He answered he wist not what they said, he would be to the hills. He was taken to the head of the table, and these were read again, but he gave some such answer as if he had not been *compos mentis*, so they order'd the macers to take him to the Boots, but he threw them at his feet; then they set four soldiers to him, and he struggled with them. The Council thought then he was not right, and called in his uncle Rancillas, who declared how he had been so for a long time, upon which he was sent back to the Tolbooth for that time.

I went with the lads in the writing chamber, who would by any means give me a glass of wine, and stayed with them two or three hours.

24th.—I was seeing the Laird of Lathallan,<sup>2</sup> and was with Clowburn.

25th.—I heard no preaching, and kept my chamber, except a little I was with my brother, and went to a burial and missed it.

26th.—I was every night a long time with my brother.

27th.—I was with Clowburn, and took him to my brother's.

28th.—Three west country men, John Whitelaw, John Cochran, and Arthur Bruce, this day (upon their confessing they had been at Bothwell, and refusing to own the King, and saying all the three kingdoms were bound to the Covenant, and refused to say the Bishop's death was murther, and when they were desired to pray for the King, they said it was no place for prayer, they wished his soul well, and would pray for all within the election, which did show their ignorance), were condemned to be hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh, Friday next, the 30th instant.

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Gordon of Earlston.

<sup>2</sup> Nathaniel Spens succeeded his father Thomas in Lathallan, in 1662.

29th.—There came news this day of the Duke of Monmouth's surrendering himself to the King.

I was seeing Mr. Thomas Hogg in the prison, and I saw Blackwood<sup>1</sup> also when I was in the Tolbooth. I saw Earlston brought down the stairs, he had a very raised and unsettled look. He was this night committed prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh. Captain Graham kept the key of his door, and for ten days he had eaten no meat, as Mr. Hogg told me.

30th.—The three men mentioned in the 28th inst. were, according to their sentence, hanged at the Cross. When the last executed one was praying the drum was beat, but what of his prayer they took offence at I know [not]. From the second hand I had it that one of them, after he had been taken out of his chest in the churchyard, in order to be winded, he gave three groans, audible to those that were near.

1st DECEMBER 1683, Saturday.—I heard Mr. Will. otys, 1 John 2. 1.

2d.—I heard Mr. Da. Lgate, Gal. 5. 1, and 1st John 3. 1.

3d.—I was with my eldest brother at the King's Advocate, who consulted him about the business that had been at Cardross the 12th November last; the Advocate said, speaking of religion, he loved not to stand on pin points with God, and also he was for liberty, and loved good company, tho he was loyal, and no phanatick in advancing so.<sup>2</sup>

4th.—I was a while in a coffee house with young Bannockburn, who was lately married.

I was with Mr. John Anderson.

5th.—I saw 19 countrymen taken to the Council house, who were brought prisoners from the west; they were sent back to prison, but I know not the result of their being at the Council.

6th.—Almost every day there were prisoners before the Council, or committees of the Council.

We had the particulars now of Monmouth's coming to Court, and that it was without the advice or rather against

<sup>1</sup> William Lawrie of Blackwood.

<sup>2</sup> This confession of the faith of Sir George Mackenzie is of peculiar interest. The 'pin points' were found broad enough when his pleadings against the lives of good men were based upon them.

the consent of the Duke of York that Monmouth was received. It was in the *Gazette* that upon York's desire and intreaty with the King, Monmouth was pardoned, and several such particulars, and his discovering the whole conspiracy. Now we had it for certain news that Monmouth took this *Gazette* to the King, and complained that such things were published, upon which the King (as is said) discharged all persons to speak so of Monmouth. The Monday after Monmouth came in, York went to the hunting, and stayed away for two or three days; and the Duke of Monmouth was made master of the horse, and carried the sword before the King on St. Andrews day. The Chancellour<sup>1</sup> and Treasurer<sup>2</sup> were at great variance, and stood opposite one to the other avowedly, by keeping up distinct companies and cabals. The Chancellour had no noblemen in appearance but Huntly, who was not a councellour, and Earls of Errol and Balcarras. Lord Maitland, Lauderdale's son, was his great doer and vindicator now; but York was the man who keeped up the Chancellour at Court, and he York's interest in Scotland. With the Treasurer were Duke Hamilton, Marquis Athol, who was privy seal, Earl of Mar, Earl of Perth, Justice General, and his brother<sup>3</sup> the Treasurer Depute, Marquis Montrose, Lord Advocate, Lord Register, Claverhouse, and several others. D. Hamilton<sup>4</sup> was not positive for any.

7th.—I heard Mr. Edward xyz, Isai. 32. 2. I was few nights from my brother. I was seeing Mr. John ctn.

8th.—I was with Alexander Preston afternoon, and with Waristoun<sup>5</sup> in his own house. I met with Will. Sythrum, who had come from Torrie.

This afternoon I got the criminal letters out of the signet at Lord Cardross' instance against Christie and others.

9th.—I heard Mr. Ja. fzsm., Lamen. 3. 39.

10th.—The Justice Court sat this day, and about 120, who had been continued several times since the Circuit, compeared. The Dyet was deserted against many, they finding caution to

<sup>1</sup> The Earl of Aberdeen.

<sup>2</sup> The Marquis of Queensbery.

John Drummond of Lundin, afterwards Earl of Melfort.

The Duke.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Andrew Burnet of Waristoun.

compear when called ; the penalties on their bonds were doubled. Sir Daniel Carmichael's confinement within the town of Edinburgh was taken off, the penalties of his bond doubled, to compear when called to underly the law for the crimes laid to his charge. Several country people had this same favour, which had not been granted since the Justice Aire began till now.

11th.—I was seeing Mr. Thomas Hogg in the prison. I saw Mr. John Anderson.

12th.—I was with Gartur, and several times in Mr. Thomas Gordon's chamber, waiting on the criminal letters.

13th.—I was with the Earl of Monteath. There came news from Court that the Duke of Monmouth was banished the King's presence for ever, and confined within five miles of More Park, but I heard afterwards he was not confined.

14th.—I was with my eldest brother and William Dunlop.

15th.—My brother William came to town this night, intending to go meet the Earl of Mar, who was coming from Court.

16th.—I heard Mr. John Law, Prov. 23. 26.

17th.—This afternoon I went from Edinburgh to Haddington with my brother William, to meet the Earl of Marr, who was there before us.

Lundie, the Treasurer depute, and his Lady, and my Lord Drumlanerk, and Lord Will. his brother, Duke of Queensbury's sons, and Sir Adam Blair, came all in one company. We were a while with the Earl of Marr and my Lord Lyon,<sup>1</sup> and also with Mr. Will. Fall, Lord Drumlanerk's Governor.

18th.—This morning we saluted Drumlanerk and his brother.

I saw John Graham and Grainge Masterton<sup>2</sup> in Haddington. About ten o'clock they took coach. Marr and Queensbury's sons were in an English Hackney, and Lundie and his Lady, and Sir Robert Blair, in Lundie's own coach ; there came other four coaches out of Haddington with them, and upwards of 40 horse. Before they came in at the watergate they had about sixteen coaches, and five or six score of horse ; they went all to the Treasurer's first.

19th.—I saw George Preston both Monday and yesterday ;

<sup>1</sup> Sir Charles Erskine of Cambo

<sup>2</sup> Masterton of Grange.

he was presently come from Holland to take over some soldiers, and suffered a great stress at sea, the ship of one Gillies, in Leith, being lost, and much money and many of their cloaths.

20th.—This day, or at least some day this week, a proclamation emitted by the magistrates of Edinburgh with tuck of Drum through the city, offering every person who would discover a conventicle, and set the guards upon them so as they might be apprehended, should have £5 Sterling, and as much for every private baptism or marriage, and 12 lib. Scots for discovering any person who had fled from the country and now lurking in Edinburgh, and went not to church.

21st.—I dined in Mr. Thomas Riggs<sup>1</sup> with my brother and Craigforth.

22d.—I went about a mile out of town with the Earl of Marr, and came back again, and about three o'clock took horse with my two eldest brothers, and came to Torrie at night. My Lady was in Culross.

23d.—We stayed at home all day.

24th.—I went to Culross, and saw Will. Preston by the way.

I was in my Lady Kincardine's, and Will. Adams.

My mother came home with Mary Callender. Mr. Thomas Robb, and Mr. Andrew Stirk came to Torrie.

25th.—Will Sythrum came to Torrie.

This is an exceeding great frost, and very cold.

26th.—John Crockat was in Torrie.

27th.—I went to the gunning with my brother William.

28th.—My Lady went to Culross, and my brother William.

29th.—Sir William Preston was in Torrie.

30th.—I heard Mr. Th. cyx., Lam. 5. 16.

31st.—Mr. Robert Anderson was in Torrie, and Will. Sythrum went for Edinburgh. About a fortnight ago there came a summons to Torrie wherein my Lady and I and others in Torrie were summoned to compear before the Sherriff of Fife and his depute, the 26th day of December 1683, for disorderly walking, or which is all one, for not going to church, and hearing other ministers privately.

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Thomas Rigg of Athernie, Fifehire.

1st JANUARY 1684, Tuesday.—I came this day from Torrie to Edinburgh with Mr. Thomas Robb; we walked on foot from the Queensferry to Edinburgh.

2d.—I was seeing Mr. John Law, Mr. Ctn., and Mr. Sqy.

3d.—This day compeared before the Council Mr. John Campbell and Mr. James Vetch, indulged men, being pursued by the King's Advocate for not reading the King's declaration anent the late plot, and for not observing the injunctions layed on them by the Council. At their getting that liberty they acknowledged they had not read the declaration, in their answers to the lybell, and Mr. Vetch said he had done the equivalent by advertising the people the Sabbath before that such a declaration was to be read, and chusing a place of Scripture fit for such a time, and that he had prayed for the preservation of his Majesty, and his Royal Highness.

They were put to their oaths if they had kepted their injunctions, and they deposed they had baptised no children without a testificate from the regular clergy except within their parishes, and that they had whiles kept the 29th May and whiles not. Mr. Vetch said he had kepted them ever since his last absolvitor, his Royal Highness being present, and that he had kepted the last 29th May, but could not be positive as to the year preceeding, which I could not reconcile. They were required to depone if they had prayed or exercised or lectured in any place without their parishes, and they could not deny but that they had prayed and spoke about a quarter of an hour on some portion of Scripture: on which they were removed, and in a little called in and ordained to oblige themselves by finding caution instantly that within 24 hours they should find sufficient security under the pain of 5000 merks to walk orderly, and comppear before them when called, or to go out of the kingdom. The King's favour and indulgence to them was declared null, and they discharged from the exercise of their ministry in their respective parishes.

4th.—I was several hours in company with Robert Preston, Alexander and Charles Preston, his half brother, Alexander Colvill, and the Bruces.

5th.—I was a while this afternoon with Sir Charles Erskine of Alva, who was this day come to town.

6th.—I stayed in my chamber all this day.

7th.—I saw Mr. Thomas Hogg in the prison.

8th.—This day Mr. Anthony Shaw compeared before the Lords of Justiciary, being panneled for preaching in a church-yard. The dyet was deserted against him, and he ordered to compear before the Council on Thursday. Sir William Paterson, one of the Council clerks, said that he had presented a most loyal petition the last Council day, and that he had discharged the criminal court to proceed against him further.

9th.—I was about an hour with Alexander Preston and Alexander Colvill, Mr. Thomas Rigg, Mr. James Crichton, and Mr. David Williamson.<sup>1</sup>

10th.—This day compeared Mr. Morison, merchant in Hamilton, and owned the Covenant stievely<sup>2</sup> before the Justice Court. There was no sentence given out against him. They alledged he had been at Bothwell. Mr. Anthony Shaw, an indulged man, whom I mentioned before, compeared before the Council, and received the sentence which was passed against Messrs. Campbell and Vetch Thursday last. As to banishment, he said he had not a body fit for it, and for finding caution to walk orderly he was not clear for it, so he was sent to prison.

The magistrates of Edinburgh, both for last year and this, being pursued by the King's Advocate for the escape of 21 prisoners, whereof three were under sentence of death for treason,<sup>3</sup> put in on September last, compeared before the Council, but there was no sentence past. The keepers of the Tolbooth were likeways pursued. The King's Advocate alledged that the Magistrates, as they were such, and Edinburgh having priviledges, they on its behalf ought to keep all prisoners under sentence of death for treason in close sure custody, and if they thought them not secure enough in an open room to put them in irons, and be answerable for their escape.

11th.—I dined with Jo. spy and Da. Clunie.

<sup>1</sup> Minister of the West Kirk, Edinburgh, who had been put to the horn in 1674 for holding conventicles, and was intercommuned the following year. He was restored to his congregation in 1689.

<sup>2</sup> Resolutely.

<sup>3</sup> Those of the escaped prisoners who were under sentence of death for alleged high treason were Mr. John Dick, Adam Philip, and George Aitkin.

12th.—I was with Boquhan and Lathallan.

13th.—I stayed in my chamber this day and heard no preaching.

14th.—Many gentlemen and others compeared before the Justice Court for converse and resett of Bothwell men. They were all continued till Friday.

15th.—I went to the abbey with my brother, who was upon his coming to town and going abroad, having got a protection from the Session for 14 days, visiting the officers of state and others.

I was with him in Mr. John Law's at night.

16th.—I was at a glass of wine with Archibald Murray, Blackbarony's son, who was lately come to town, and in Bannockburn's chamber.

17th.—The town of Edinburgh and Keepers of the Tolbooth compeared before the Council, but no sentence was past.<sup>1</sup>

18th.—I was with my brother, who was waiting on Sir George Lockart to consult him, but the Chancellour came to Sir George and took him away, so he went to the King's Advocate and consulted him.

My good sister<sup>2</sup> and sister Veronica came to town.

19th.—I was in Sir George Lockhart's this afternoon, at a consultation.

20th.—I stayed in my chamber this day, and supped with my brother.

21st.—This day my brother's plea with Chrystie and the Downe men was before the Justice Court.

They sat the forenoon, and desired my brother to pass from them, which he refused, not seeing how he could be repared unless at least he got his expences. The messenger and Chrystie proposed to crave him pardon. The court sat afternoon till near eight at night, and the relevancy of the

<sup>1</sup> The case against the magistrates and jailors was called before the Council on the 22d of the same month, when, upon the report of a committee of the Council, who had visited the prison, and sifted the matter, it was found that 'the escape of the prisoners has rather been casuall and fortuitous than from any neglect or connivance of the magistrates and keepers.' The defenders are therefore 'assoilzied' from the libel 'as to any personall punishment or fyne,' but they are ordained to be publicly reprimanded at the Bar.

<sup>2</sup> Lady Cardross.

lybel was debated for my brother by the King's Advocate, Sir George Lockhart, and Mr. Will Fletcher; for the pannells were Mr. Robert Colt and Sir David Thoirs. The debates were written in the court books.

22d.—The Justice Court sat this day, and my brother was called in, the doors not being open nor the lords having on their gowns, the determination was that in respect the debate was only anent the execution of a civil caption or letters, they referred him to the civil judge, that they might once determine how far a messenger might go in the execution of these letters, and after the civil judge's decision, to raise new letters before them, and in the meantime deserted the dyet against the pannells. They deserted the dyet not only without, but against my brother's consent, he being ready and desirous to insist, and the lybel not being found irrelevant, the lords refused to insert the interloquutor in the Court books.

23d.—I was in the Tolbooth seeing Mr. Thomas Hogg.

The Council sat this forenoon till about one oclock; they sat afternoon, and Monday the Junto sat. The advocate said that this day, viz., Monday, they had as great a business to do as ever since the King came home. It was commonly talked that there was some great business ado, but none could be positive.<sup>1</sup>

24th.—This morning about six the Earl of Perth took journey, riding post for Court. On Monday or Tuesday there was a report of his going, but it was thought to be a sudden resolution, even among themselves, and opposed by the Chancellour and his party, but carried by the Treasurer and his party by two votes. The secret committee or Junto consisting of seven members, to witt, the Chancellour, Treasurer,

<sup>1</sup> The Council register under this date contains a very long minute of a letter from the Council to the King, with relative papers, to be taken up to his Majesty by the Earl of Perth. The letter refers to the 'field conventicles' as designated by a recent Parliament 'randevouzes of rebellion:' adding, that 'such as are intrusted to put the lawes in execution for suppressing that and other ecclesiastick disorders, having upon all occasions represented to your Privy Council that women were the chief fomentors of these disorders, and that nothing could restraine them except the making their husbands lyable for their fynes,' upon which principle the Council had therefore acted, and now craved his Majesty's approbation thereof on the ground that 'in matters of government, and in lawes relating to it,' his 'sacred majesty, as the fountain of all justice als well as power, is the best interpreter.'

Privy Seal, Treasurer Depute, Advocate, Register, and the Justice General, all being officers of state but the last. The Chancellour had none to do for him in this court but himself, but adjourned them when they pleased him not, they all siding with the Treasurer against him. This day the Earl of Loudon, Lord Melvill, Sir John Cochran, and John Cochran of Waterside, his son, were summoned at the cross and pier and shoar of Leith to compear before the criminal court, and answer for alledged conversing, harbouring, and meeting with rebels.

About a fortnight ago my Lord Maitland was committed to the custody of a sergeant at London, he being named in a letter of Argyle's, wrote in cyphers, to which there was now a key; so he was now panneled for corresponding with rebels, who by his vote made it a crime, the lords being equally divided before he came in.<sup>1</sup>

25th.—I was a while with the Laird of Arkindlass' son, who was at the colledge.

26th.—I was this morning with Garturr, who went for Torrie. This day the Council met afternoon, and it was said to be for signing a letter to the King.

The Junto sat after the Council was up.

27th.—I heard Mr. John Law, 1 John 5. 4.

28th.—I was a while in company with Alexander and Robert Preston.

29th.—I was all this forenoon with my brother in the abbey.

30th.—There was preaching in the great kirk this day, in commemoration of the murther of King Charles the 1st. Hannan preacht. His discourse consisted much of reflections on Presbyterians, and he bad people beware of those principles that the King derived his power from the people, and that religion ought to be defended by arms.

31st.—I was with Robert Colvill, receiving £120 as a years annual rent due by the Earl of Menteath to my Lady, and my brother.

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<sup>1</sup> Charles, Lord Maitland of Halton, younger brother of the Duke of Lauderdale. A promise to read the letter was obtained from Lady Argyle after severe threatening by three of the Privy Councillors. The key to the cypher was, however, found by —— Gray of Creichy, by 'rules of airt.' An order was thereupon issued to search the house of Lord Maitland, and to secure his papers.

This [day] were called to compear before the Council Mr. Baird and Mr. Eccles, indulged ministers, and Mr. Black and Elliot, other two indulged men, for not reading the King's declaration anent the late plot, for not preaching every 29th day of May, for going without their respective charges, and for not observing others of their instructions with which that liberty was qualified, as was urged against them by their accusers. Only Mr. Eccles and Elliot compeared. Mr. Eccles of himself before sentence demitted his indulgence ; Mr. Elliot being required to declare upon oath if he had not said in the pulpit that there had been no protestant or phanatical, but a jesuitical plot. He said that he had indeed declared that he thought there was no true Protestant guilty of so terrible a plot, and that it could be by none but people of Jesuitical and Sectarian principles. Their sentence was that their places were now declared to be vacant, and the indulgence granted to them at an end, and they ordained to find caution under the penalty of 5000 merks to either not to exercise the functions of ministers in Scotland, or go off the kingdom and not return.

1st FEBRUARY 1684.—I paid to Robert Mill, writer, 500 merks, due by my Lady to James Hamilton, collector. I was at night in company with Boquhan. Mr. Will. Crichton, Alexander Inglis, and Will. Cunningham, supped with us in a change house.

2d.—The Mistress of Balmerino was buried this day ; there was about fourty coaches at her burial, near the half of them, I think, were hackneys.

I was the most part of this afternoon with my brother, and standing at a window in his chamber, I saw a man in the habit of a fool inviting people to some common play, and a man in woman's cloaths (as was said), or a brazen-faced hussey, dallying with him in the publick streets, she was said to be a man in woman's cloaths.

3d.—I heard Mr. John Law. Psa. 89. 9.

4th.—I was a while at night with Robert Preston, now of that Ilk, and his brother Alexander, whom they called Doctor, who was frequently with them. They spoke somewhat reflectingly of my brother's ruining himself with his religion. There

was much debaucht talk amongst them; I was somewhat vexed that I did not sharply challenge them for the one and reprove them for the other. I was at night in Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart's lodging.

5th.—This day my Lady, my brother Will., and George Preston, a Holland's ensign, came to town from Torrie. My brother William and I were seeing our eldest brother.

6th.—Being [with] George Preston and brother William in Hunters, at the sign of the Earl of Wintons arms, and speaking of Papists, Hunter the landlord said when he was a constable in the Canongate, the year 1679, in his quarter, which contained all the south side of the Cannongate beneath St. John's Cross, there were four hundred papists and upwards, counting the children of those who had families, which were but few. I seriously enquiring, he affirmed it to be a truth; he said there would have hundreds come out of my Lady Arralls from the mass, but none durst challenge them.

Its a strange thing to hear men (as some have said when I was in company) of no religion, I may say, yea, known to be of loose and profane lives, say the Presbyterians were men of the best lives, and that they got most good of their preaching and prayers.

I went up to one Captain Middleton's chamber with George Preston and my brother William, but he, being somewhat drunk, curst and swore, so that I presently left them. I was sorry that it happened to me to be in company where I took not freedom to reprove sin; but, alas! few have courage in a good cause, and are valiant for the truth. I was seeing Mr. Thomas Hogg in prison.

7th.—This forenoon I was within the advocates' barr and hearing debates before the Lords of Session, I was at night with John Ballenden, keeper of the advocates' barr, Preston of that Ilk, and his brother Alexander, and Mr. Mathew Fleming, once minister in Culross. John Ballenden, drinking with some company before he came to us, was become too noisy, and took a liberty of swearing, tho he was reproved.

8th.—I dined with my brother, and was a while at night with Boquhan, he being to go out of town to-morrow. I was with Mr. John Law.

9th.—I was most of this forenoon in the session-house, hearing the debates, and afternoon with my brother.

10th.—I heard Mr. John Law, Psa. 'Preserve me, O Lord ; for in thee do I trust.'

11th.—I was a while in company with John Ballenden and — Cunningham, a session messenger. They reflected on Presbyterians, and my brother, for suffering so much for religion. I said it was well and honestly lost when it was in suffering for religion. They thought then they should not keep company with me, knowing I inclined to that way ; but I affirmed they were and had been as loyal to the King as any, and set the crown on his head. But I find its better to be out of the way of sin, and then we will not have occasion of such company. People who desire to shun sin, and the appearance thereof, can scarcely have to do with the members and dependents of the courts in Edinburgh, as they are at this time, without many challenges for vexing the Spirit of God.

On Thursday last, young Rowallan gave in a petition to the Council, that he might have his liberty upon bail, being sore troubled with some disease, which was granted, and he came out, having the liberty of a chamber in town, but a sentry was to wait on him.

About ten days ago, John Hutcheson<sup>1</sup> and Lockhart of Kirkton<sup>2</sup>, were criminally summoned, the first for Pentland, and I think the last for Bothwell. About twenty days ago, Sir William Scott of Harden was committed to the Tolbooth for not paying his fine.

12th.—The forenoon I was in the Session-house, and afternoon was seeing Mr. John Ctn. and Sqy., and Sir Charles Erskine of Alva.

13th.—I was seeing Lady Kincardine and her son my Lord. Afterwards I went to Lady Preston's with my brother William, and Thomas Bruce, not knowing they were to meet to draw valentines, but I drew none with them.

14th.—I was with my brother the afternoon.

15th.—I was in company with Alexander Preston, Alexander Colvill, Alexander Stevenson, and Robert Wardlaw,

<sup>1</sup> Portioner at Newbattle.

<sup>2</sup> Walter Lockhart.

in the gardner's of the herb garden,<sup>1</sup> and drunk some herb ale. I found few whose company would not be offensive to any who desire to keep a good and a quieted conscience, and to have their minds resting on God as the only true quieting object of wearyed souls longing after Christ.

16th.—I was every day in the session-house, hearing debates either in the outer or inner house. I was this afternoon with my brother, and a while with Mr. James fzszn.

17th.—I stayed at home all this day, and —— Logan, who had a chamber in the house with us, was with my brother William and me a while.

I came from John Melvill's, Saturday was 8 days, and stayed with my brother William in Doctor Burnet's old house, where my Lady was.

18th.—This day George Martin,<sup>2</sup> John Kerr,<sup>3</sup> and James Muir,<sup>4</sup> were panneled before the Justiciary Court, and their indictment read, which insisted much on their treasonable principles and assertions, but no actual crime committed was layed to the charge of any them. They all adhered positively to the Covenant, and owned Bothwell as lawfull, tho George Martin did not answer so positively as to that, but said, if it was a rebellion against God, that it was a rebellion indeed, but if it was not a rebellion against God, it was no rebellion. When the judge inquired if it was a rebellion against God, he bade them judge of that. George said, I have read the Bible, but never found that a man was put to death for sins of omission. When they were desired to pray for, and say, God save the King; they said (they all holding one opinion, and answering much after one way), we will pray for all the election, and not exclude the King. They would not directly own the King to be lawfull King of Scotland, nor yet did they deny it. We own all lawful authority, and will own the King in as far as he judges according to the word of God. The King's Advocate, Sir George M'Kenzie, desired them to instance him one

<sup>1</sup> This probably refers to the Botanic Garden, planted in 1667 by Sir Robert Sibbald and Sir Andrew Balfour, physicians.

<sup>2</sup> Notary and reader at Dailly, Ayrshire.

<sup>3</sup> Wright in parish of Hounam, Roxburghshire.

<sup>4</sup> Described as at Cessford boat.

text of Scripture that made for them ; and finding them not answer him, he said, I am glad they have gotten word about, and we have examined them publickly, that all may know what sort of people they are. The verdict of the jury was, that they all in one voice find George Martin, etc., guilty of their treasonable positions, principles, and expressions. The Lords, after the Assize was come back, and given in their verdict sealed, to the lords or judges, they caused the clerk of the assize alter one word in the verdict, which was the putting in of that word principles. I saw the verdict scored ; for Mr. Thomas Gordon, the clerk, refused to put any other thing in the sentence but what was in the verdict, which made them alter it. Their sentence was, to be hanged in the Grassmarket on Friday next ; they were carried to prison, and ordained to be put in irons.

19th.—There came on a snow yesterday morning and continued till this morning. There was a thaw on Sabbath, tho the frost continued on the ground and stopt all work of labouring the ground. I saw Mr. Hog in prison. I was with my eldest brother much of this afternoon.

20th.—I was this afternoon seeing Mr. John Law, the Laird of Lathallan, and Mr. Spence.

21st.—After eight I went to the Street, and continued till twelve, inviting people to the burial of Laurence of Oliphant, brother to the present Laird of Gask. Laurence Oliphant, writer, in whose chamber the defunct had been, took the inviters to dinner in Patrick Stiles's. I went to the burial afternoon. We got a great wind with rain yesterday, which begun a thaw which continued. I was seeing my Lord Kin-cardine, with George Preston, and my brother William at the Justice Court, when some people were called ; there was no indictment read nor accusation given in against them ; but the clerk would have said, ‘will ye take the test,’ or ‘ye’ll take the test, I ken,’ which, if they did not, they behooved to find caution, if they had not taken the bond.

(22 FEBRUARY 1684).—After dinner I went to the Laigh Council house, where the three condemned men were brought before Baillie Chancellour,<sup>1</sup> who inquired if they had any more

<sup>1</sup> About a month later this civic dignitary, whose zeal for the Government was so fervent, appears in the Privy Council register in another connection. The

to say for themselves, and if they would bid God save the King? They said, they were not now come to answer, neither would they answer questions, and they refused not to obey all the King's lawful commands. They refused to hear one of the town curates pray; but he beginning, not desired, George Martin offered to interrupt him the time of his prayer, by saying, 'Let us be gone, what have we to do here?' but he ended his prayer without stopping. They were hanged in the Grassmarket, but I went not to the place of execution.

The Laird of Blackwood was set at liberty this day eight days, having got a remission as to his life, but withal to be banished when the Council pleased.

Yesterday George Buchanan, a tenant of my lord Cardross's, and John M'Lean, a Kippen man, were brought prisoners to the Canongate Tolbooth from Stirling.

23d.—I was seeing the Earl of Monteath forenoon, and afternoon with my brother in the Abbey.

24th.—I stayed at home all day, and heard no preaching.

25th.—This forenoon Sir Hew Campbell of Cesnock, elder, got his indictment, with sound of trumpet, for treason, as having some accession to, and meddling with, Bothwell Bridge.

Sir James Foulis of Collington, an ordinary Lord of both Session and Justiciary, was made Justice Clerk in the Lord Maitland's place, and Sir Patrick Lyon, a lord of the Session, was this day received in Collintoun's place, as a lord and judge of the Justiciary.

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Government having swallowed the camel of persecution, was now solemnly engaged in straining out the gnat of vanity in dress, by enacting penalties for 'the wearing of all flour'd, strip'd, figur'd, checquer'd, printed, or painted silks, stuffs, or ribbands' worn by any of the lieges 'of whatsoever degree.' Notwithstanding which act, it is stated that 'several women, even in our capital city of Edinburgh, and elsewhere, have presumed to goe abroad with cloath made of the said prohibited stuffs, on pretext that they are only night gounes, undresses or mantois; as also several persones to elude the law, in dounright mockerie and contempt of the same, have presumed to wear long black mandell coats (which are indeed more expensive to our leidges then the cloaks formerlie worne), at burials.' Following on this act is a process against John Chancellor, bailie of Edinburgh, who is found guilty of importing fine English cloth 'and other superfluous commodities.' The worthy bailie is fined in the value of the cloth, and ordered to deliver it up to the Lord High Treasurer 'to be brunt and destroyed!'

I was this afternoon speaking with my brother about changing of fashions of cloaths, and afterwards, and even before we had ended speaking, it troubled me that I had spoken so much, especially when I had considered and read Prov. 17. ver. 27, 28, and 21-23.

26th.—Mr. John Law dined with my Lady and Ensign Preston. I was at night with my brother, where William Dunlop was.

27th.—I was this forenoon with Earl Callender about a business of my brother's. I was afternoon with Alva, and at night in Mr. Thomas Riggs, where was Mr. John Law and his son.

28th.—I was with my brother all this afternoon. Sir Daniel Carmichael was with him several hours, who seemed to be an understanding and smart man.

29th.—There was frost yester night, and this morning when I went out I found the streets covered with snow, and so was all the fields about the town.

The city of Amsterdam had now for some months dissented from the Prince in the levy of 16,000 men, and the difference was daily now growing.

Upon a report that George Buchanan, once a tenant of my brother's, in Kippen parish, and John M'Lean there, were given to Col. Gage to take to Flanders for soldiers, I went to the Cannogate Tolbooth, where they were, and found by them that such a proposal had been made to them by a Committee of the Council. This day I saw Mr. John Ctn. and Mr. Sqy.

(1st MARCH, 1684, Saturday.)—The two men I spoke of yesterday, were this day before a committee, and one of them told me he heard one of the committee speak of causing examine witnesses against them at Stirling.

I spoke with John Hutcheson of Hardlaw, who had got his indictment to answer on Monday next; he scrupled to say these words, 'God save the King,' before the judges, and to acknowledge the King's authority, positively and strictly taken by them. I was with my brother; John Inglis was there, and one Mr. Gordon, who had been several years in America, and gave us a particular account of Carolina, and much commended the country.

2d.—I heard Mr. John fzfn, Rev. 1. 5 and 6.

3d.—John Hutcheson was this day brought before the Justiciary, but nothing done with him.

There was about other twelve in the indictment with him, whereof three compeared: the dyet was deserted presently against one of them, and then one Archibald Prentice was called and compeared. Meldrum was sitting at the King's Advocate's back, and I, leaning on the bench above them, heard Meldrum say to the King's Advocate, 'You may desert the dyet against that man,' upon which the Advocate, without any further scruple or enquiry (but hearing Meldrum say that), said, 'I desert the dyet against him,' vitz. Archibald ——. Mr. Thomas Roome of Cluden, W. Douglass of Baads, Hamilton of Westburn, were called, and the dyet was deserted against them all, but they were panneled for the ordinary crimes of resett, and of conversing with those who had been at Bothwell.

The King's Advocate insisted against one Howison, a maltman in Lanerk, and an heritor of some few acres of land, as being several times and in several places in company with the rebels. Mr. William Fletcher compeared as Advocate for the pannel, and said, denying always the lybel, if at all he was in company with them, it was occasional; but to take away all suspicion of disloyalty he had taken the test. The lords found both the lybel relevant, and defences relevant if proven. Many witnesses were called against him and others, and then the assize was enclosed, and when they returned brought in Menzies<sup>1</sup> of —— and Henry Hall<sup>2</sup> guilty of the rebellion, and Howeson guilty of being in company with the rebels without arms, according as the advocate had restricted the general lybel; so Howison was carried to prison.

4th.—This morning early, or about midnight, Mr. John Rae,<sup>3</sup> Mr. John Dick, and Mr. Melvill, master of the family where they stayed, and Lamb, taylour and lodger in the house,

<sup>1</sup> John Menzies of Wintercleuch.

<sup>2</sup> The Laird of Haughhead, in Teviotdale, who, while defending Mr. Donald Cargill, at Queensferry, was killed about three years before the process here mentioned.

<sup>3</sup> Formerly minister at Symington. He had been under persecution since 1670.

were taken out of Melvill's house, which is the first turnpike on your left hand, and the first door of the turnpike of that closs which is directly opposite to the foot of Forrester's Wynd, by a party of Graham's guard, and kept in the guard-house till about ten o'clock, and then taken to the Council, and after 12 to Edinburgh Tolbooth. After noon Mr. John Dick was brought before the lords of Justiciary; whenever he came in his sentence was given him, to be taken to-morrow, betwixt two and four in the afternoon, to the Grassmarket, and there to be hanged on the gibbet till he died. Then the guard was commanded to take back the prisoner, but he stopped and said, 'I offered to propose my lawfull defences, but was not permitted.' So, as the guard was hasting him away, and a macer getting him forward, and hindering him to speak, he said, 'Well, God will surely judge the judges,' and so he was removed.

This afternoon Henry Hall, Gawin Herd, and Menzies, were forfault for being at Bothwell. Mr. John Rae, Melvill, and Lamb were examined in the Justice Court. Mr. John Rae, being interrogated if he had preached to the rebels, said: 'I preached in the months of June and May, 1679, to several persons, and in several places,' but whether or not they were rebels he was not clear. He said also, it was the opinion of most orthodox divines that defensive arms was lawfull. He refused to discover in whose houses he had stayed, with whom he had conversed, or to whom he had preached.

Melvill refused to tell who had baptised one of his children, and was not for going to church. Lamb said he went out early in the morning, and came in late at night, and had not conversed with Mr. Dick and Mr. Rae: he was married with one of the regular ministers of the town, and went to church. Meldrum's man took the soldiers to the place where Mr. Rae and the rest were taken, and the Chancellour gave the order. They knew not of Mr. Dick being there, but only of Mr. Rae. It was said that Mr. Rae was followed into the house the night before, but I informed myself certainly, and found that Mr. Rae had not been out the night before.

5th.—This forenoon I went to the Tolbooth with Alexander Logan, gun-smith, and tho there had been difficulty, yet we

got access to Mr. John Dick, when his father went in, and his son's cloaths with him.

We had little time to stay, neither was it fit to trouble him at that time; so I took my leave of him, who was composed, and as he had formerly, so did he now, endure and carry the cross of Christ chearfully, even when he was looking death, the King of terrors, in the face.

I saw likeways Mr. John Rae, and spoke with him; he was in the room with Mr. Dick.

I dined with my brother Cardross, and before two I came to the Laigh Council-house where Mr. Dick was to be, and gave an officer some money that I might have entry and get a convenient place. Baillie Douglass, Baillie Chancellour, and Dean of Guild Murray were there, and Mr. Ramsay, the curate, and Farquhar his conjunct. When Mr. Dick came in, Baillie Chancellour, the youngest baillie, spoke, and said, 'Sir, you are condemned by a sentence of the Justice Court to be hanged for your treasonably being in arms, and we are to put the sentence in execution. It is now time for you to consider what you have been doing, for your time is but short, and the scripture says rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft.' Mr. Dick answered, 'I know rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, but I am guilty of no rebellion.' B. Chancellour, 'Ye should now lay aside pick quarrel, and discontentedness.' Mr. Dick, 'Its ordinary for people of different perswausions to reflect upon other as acting from these, but I do it not, and I bless the Lord that inclined my heart to follow that way.' B. Chancellour, 'Will you hear the minister pray for you?' Mr. Dick, 'I see no minister here; but as for that man, pointing to Ramsay, he has the mark of the beast; he is perjured and mansworn: I will not hear him, so trouble me not.' Mr. Ramsay, 'How can people have charity for you if you will not hear prayers?' Mr. Dick, 'I think you may be ashamed to take God's name in your mouth, seeing you are perjured; I disown you and all your gang, so be silent, I will not hear you.' B. Chancellour, 'Will you pray for yourself?' Mr. Dick said, 'Yes, if ye permitt me.' As Mr. Dick was to begin prayer, Dean of Guild Murray spoke to B. Chancellour quietly, and then the Baillie, before he had begun prayer, said, 'You must

not reflect upon authority in your prayers, so as there may be offence taken.' Mr. Dick, 'I will pray no limited prayers; I will pray as Christ has taught me.' Some were for suffering him to pray, and stopping him if he pleased them not, but that was not thought fit, so he prayed none there.

When he put on his hat to go away, B. Chancellour said it was the custom to put on a cap; he refused to do that, but went bare-headed, and held his hat in his hand, and whiles a little aside from his face, for it was a pleasant and clear sun shine day. Before he came out of the Council-house, I went to him and shook hands with him. He said, 'Pull off my glove, and take me by the bare hand, for I am tied and cannot; ' so I did so, and then he said, 'The Lord's blessing be with you, and I hope it will be with you.' This, from him, was comfortable to me, especially at this time, when he was to die for Christ's cause, tho the death of my dear comrade was indeed griveous to me; but I desire the Lord, whose will it was to take him away, may help me, and all others, to submitt quietly to his will, and not to grieve above measure.

After this I took him by the hand, and before he came to the place of execution I got a smile from him. When he was upon the scaffold, he sung first the second Psalm, and read the 9th chapter of Ezekiel, and after read another Psalm. He got not liberty to speak much, being several times stopped by the beating of a drum, tho they needed not have been offended at what he spoke, he being careful not to reflect. He said he had a word to friends and a word to enemies. He advised friends not to take on a profession of religion before and without they had once laid the foundation, and then to be serious in matters of religion, and to trust much to God, for he was well worth the trusting. He seriously pressed unity amongst God's people, seeing their division about small and insignificant matters had been their great ruin. He pressed much to trust in God. He was interrupted, and so could not speak much to enemies. He had a word of news, which was, that there had been a black cloud, and that there was a black one now, but it would be blacker, yet that a clear day should follow. He had an excellent and distinct voice without alteration to the last. When he was on the ladder, he looked to me (I being within

the guards, and near the scaffold) and smiling, said, ‘ Farewell, the Lord’s blessing be with you ;’ and nodding to me again, he said with a smile, ‘ Ye know whom I mean,’—he not naming my name least I should be brought to trouble for it. A little before he was cast over he said, ‘ I remember a story how Abraham, when he was to offer up his son, said, “ here is the altar and the fire, but where is the sacrifice ? ” Now,’ said he, pointing to the gallows, ‘ here is the altar,’ and to the tow, ‘ here is the fire, and I give myself a willing and a chearfull sacrifice.’

He was carried from the place of execution to the Matitland Chappell,<sup>1</sup> where he was dressed, and put again into his coffin : from thence I helped to carry his corps to the grave.

I am confident that tho he might have proven an usefull minister, and instrument for good in Scotland, yet the Lord has made it all up by his death. If any have been lawfully striving for the mastery I may say he is one, who has now gained and is now wearing the crown for his lawfull striving for the mastery, yea he lived and died being valiant for the truth. I would be more particular, but I resolve to take the help of others that I may have all exactly, and then put it in writing.

6th.—Forenoon, I was in the parliament house, and afternoon with my brother, and saw with him Mr. Robert Murray, who was brought prisoner from London with Cesnock, Rowallane, and other gentlemen, and (had) been the last or this week set at liberty upon his giving bail to compear when called. Having some business of my brother’s to do with Commissary Nimmo, I went to an inn where he was, and one who was in company with him, took a glass of wine, ‘ here is to his old Grace’s good health,’ but I understood him not ; so another drunk to me, and said ‘ My Lord St. Andrew’s health.’ I took a little of the wine, and then set it down. He took the glass again, and said, ‘ to his young Grace’s health,’ then I rose and came away. He said also the bishop would get more to fight for him then all the Whiggs in Scotland.

7th.—Afternoon I was buying some garden seeds to my

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<sup>1</sup> The Magdalen Chapel in the Cowgate is doubtless intended.

brother, and was a while with Mr. Patrick Crightown. Mr. John Welch<sup>1</sup> dined in my Lady's.

8th.—I was this forenoon in the prison seeing Mr. Thomas Hogg, and likeways saw Mr. John Rae. Afternoon I was with George Bell, and then with John Currie in Andrew Wilson's.

9th.—I heard no preaching.

About three afternoon, being at the foot of a yard in the Castlehill, I saw many people walking on the long road and on the riggs and North Loch side, for it was a pleasant day, tho frost, and it seems people made use of it as a day for recreating their bodies, but not for souls recreating exercise. When I came home, being near the street, I could have no quietness for the playing and crying of bairns on the street, some swearing even in the time of sermon.

10th.—There was a race at Leith, but I went not to it. The chancellor I heard won it (among other victories). The Earl of Perth came to town yesternight, having been at Court.

11th.—I dined with my brother, and was with young Mr. John Sinclair at night in his mother's house.

12th.—This morning I found the streets almost white with snow, and a violent frost.

Afternoon I was with young Mr. John Sinclair, the minister of Ormeston's son, whose help I took to make me perfect in humanity.<sup>2</sup> At night I was with Mr. John Law.

13th.—I wrote more than I have done formerly, that I might get my stile book ended.

Afternoon I went to the Tolbooth where I saw Mr. John Rae, and Mr. Thomas Hogg, and stayed a while with each of them.

14th.—I went to my brother and stayed with him, being about two hours in Valleyfield's chamber with him, where James Carmichael of Bamblaw<sup>3</sup> was.

15th.—Thursday last Mr. Zitchell<sup>4</sup> Montgomerie was brought from the Tolbooth to the Council, and a long lybel read, wherein he (as sherriff depute of Renfrew) was accused of taking

<sup>1</sup> Minister at Irongray—a noted field-preacher, and sufferer.

<sup>2</sup> Classical learning.

<sup>3</sup> Ballinblae, Fifeshire.

<sup>4</sup> Ezekiel.

bribes for keeping persons out of the Porteus Roll, even after they had been summon'd, and for inserting persons names in a test who had never subscribed it. This the Advocate offer'd to prove by some who were subscribing the same test, yea even by these same persons whose names were in the test, and said to have subscribed it. To prove positively that some whose names were there had never subscribed it, one Atcheson, and — Baillie of Paisley, were informers against Mr. Montgomery; and against them both he had re-accusations, pursuing them for crimes of the same nature, and oppressing the country by laying on sums of money upon whole parishes for ecclesiastick disorders, without respect to guilty or innocent, and by way of cess exacting this, laying and quartering soldiers upon them till they payed it. This was lay'd to Atcheson's charge. There was two additional lybels against Montgomery, to the last of which he had no answer. There was upwards of 160 witnesses in the town against Montgomery.

I was this afternoon with Mr. Patrick Crighton, and in Patrick Thomson's.

16th.—I heard Mr. George Z—, 2d Peter 3. 18. I went to a burial with John Currie, and was with David Dick, John Dick's father, and James Hutcheson.

17th.—Sir Colin<sup>1</sup> Campbell of Cesnock was brought before the Lords of Justiciary, being indicted for treason. When Cesnock was brought in, the King's Advocate said to the Justice General,—My lord, I am order'd by his Majesty, and have a warrant from the Council, to raise criminal letters against the Laird of Cesnock; and tho I might have given him an indictment to answer within 24 hours, he being in Edinburgh prison indicted for treason, yet to let people see I use all the fairness that can be, I have given him an indictment to answer in fifteen days; and as I have given him an additional lybel, I continue him till this day eight days; and I continue Weir of Newton (who was in the pannell with Cesnock) till the 7th day of April.

The dyet against Mr. And. Kennedy of Clowburn, Mr. Will. Ker of Greenhead, Durham of Duntervie, was deserted, and

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<sup>1</sup> His name was *Hugh*.

tho they took not the test, they were now as free as those who had taken it. It was also deserted against about 30 country people. There was now much talking of a witness that had come with Perth, to witness against Cesnock, who being confronted with Earlstoun, affirmed he had been Caitloch's Lieutenant at Bothwell, and that Cessnock had caused make some pikes for that service, both which Earlstoun affirmed to be false, and said he knew not the man, vitz. the witness.

18th.—This day my mother, brother Will., and sister Veronica, went out of town, intending for Torrie, and to see Duddingston<sup>1</sup> by the way. I was two or three hours with my Lord Kincardine.

19th.—Mr. Zetchell Montgomery, being at liberty upon bail of 10,000 merks penalty, and designing to withdraw, and not compear, was yesternight apprehended without the ports.

I was this morning with David Dick, forenoon with Bannockburn, writing a paper, afternoon I went to my brother with Commissary Nimmo.

Yesterday there were some people in Edinburgh summoned to compear before the Town Court for not going to church.

20th.—I was this afternoon in And. Hamilton's, at the sign of the Ship, with Mr. William Nimmo and Colin Campbell, who was filling up the lands in a disposition of the annuities of the teinds of Smailholme parish, to be granted to Lord Cardross. Robert Finlison in Glasgow was with us, who told me that this day there were five men to be hanged at Glasgow, who were tryed and found guilty of treasonably denying the King's authority, and for Bothwell, by — persons who had a commission from the — for trying them who were suspected and delated as being at Bothwell, and of treasonable principles.

The judges were the Lord Ross, Lieut. Colonel Windrom, Lieutenant Colonel Buchan, Sir James Turner, Sir William Flemming.

This night there was a house burnt at the back of Bishop's Land, which belonged to Doctor Sibbald, and in a part whereof

<sup>1</sup> Duddingston, in Linlithgowshire, belonging to a younger branch of the Dundas family.

he dwelt himself. It began in the young Lady Rosyth, Pollock Maxwell's sister, her chamber; her woman after putting on a fire having lock't the door and gone out. There was not much lost beside the house, the families who dwelt there having saved their furniture.

Last night, or the night before, there fell some snow.

21st.—I was several hours in the park with my brother, and Sir William Preston; after that I saw Mr. Rae and Mr. Hogg in the Tolbooth.

22d.—I was in my chamber this forenoon, writing Hopes practicks. Afternoon I walked in the park with Mr. Patrick Chrington and Alexander Inglis. When we were coming home we took some milk; Provost Drummond's Lady, Alexander Inglis' good-sister, being with Alexander's wife, and also some other women. I was late with my brother: they were busy about tilling and sowing about the town.

23d.—I stayed at home this day, and heard no preaching.

24th.—Cesnock being brought before the Justice Court this forenoon, the King's Advocate craved there might be a precognition and examination of the witnesses by the lords privately, the pannell not being present, previous to the debating and advising the relevancy of the lybel, to the effect the judges might know if there was ground to proceed further against the pannell, which the Advocate said was allowed by the King's letter; but that letter being considered by Cesnock's Advocates, they said it only allowed a precognition by the Advocate, but not by the Lords; and as to the King's Advocate's alledgeance, that it was a practise, and had been practised by other King's advocates before him; they said, that ever there was any such custom its not only controverted, but manifestly false: notwithstanding of all which, it was concluded by the Council (Perth and some other of the judges who were councillors having gone up-stairs to those of the Council who were sitting at that time) that there should be a precognition; and accordingly, the King's evidences against Cesnock were privately examin'd by the lords this day. Cesnock being called in the afternoon, had a discourse in his own vindication, wherein he said, when his servants had gone to a conventicle he closed the gates on them that night, and on the morrow paid their

fees and dispatch'd them; and also, that, before Bothwell, when there was a rumor and appearance of an insurrection to be in the country, he with some other gentlemen advising what to do anent it, they put it upon him to write a letter to the Council, advertising them to take notice of that affair; and accordingly he wrote, and sent the letter with the other gentlemen, and that he had a copy of it upon him, but it was not called for. The indictment against him was that he, having met with some persons at Gastoun Bridge, enquired from whence they had come; and when they said, from the west land army at Towcarse, he said, I have seen more go to you than come from them; go back, and you shall have got help ere long if ye bide by it: and that Cesnock should have said he liked not runaways, and bid them take courage. The relevancy of the lybel was debated by the Advocate and Sir George Lockhart, who was ordained to assist the advocate by and order from the Council, against Sir Patrick Hume, Sir John Lawder, Mr. Walter Pringle, Mr. William Fletcher, and some others, but those four were the chief, and spoke most. They ended not diting (for all the debates were put in writing) till after ten at night.

25th.—They took up this day likeways in debating the relevancy of the lybel. I was a while with Mr. Patrick Sinclair.

26th.—The lords were advising the relevancy of the lybel, but gave no interloquutor for this day.

27th.—The Justice Court sat down betwixt two and three in the afternoon, and Cesnock being brought in, there was a petition read for him wherein he craved the lords might proceed no further in the affair till the King was acquainted with it, seeing he was the person who could best explain his own act of indemnity; for Cesnock affirmed that the saying of these words was pardoned by the said act. They cited the civil law for this, how that in such doubtfull cases the Emperor was immediately of himself consulted in the explaining of laws. However, this bill was refused; then the interloquutor was pronounced, repelling the defences, and sustaining the lybel relevant to be proven, and repelling his defence of proving *alibi* in respect of the circumstances (one was the small distance betwixt Gastoun Bridge and the pannell's house), and repelling

the defences proposed upon the indictment ; then the witnesses of exculpation were called, and a few only of them examined upon oath. Two of them deposed that they heard Thomas Ingram, one of the King's evidences, say—If there was an ill turn out of hell, he would do it to Cesnock ; some of them told they saw Hew Wallace (the man who was said to be the suborner of the witness against Cesnock), once chamberlain to Craigie Wallace, give the witness against Cesnock money. When one of Cesnock's witnesses compeared, the Advocate said,—I swear I saw that man at a Justice Court ; yet the man declared the contrary. When he was speaking of the King's witnesses, he said,—Gentleman, ye must not have respect to the persons of the witnesses, either as to what they have been or what they are, but only as to what they swear. The lords repelled what was deposed against the King's witnesses, and likeways all the objections given in against them by Cesnock's advocates, and ordained the King's witnesses to be received and sworn. Then Mr. William Fletcher protested for a reprobator, and desired it might be booked in the Court books ; but the lords refused to let book it then. He took instruments in a nottar's hand that such a thing had been refused him. Ingram being called, the Justice General enquired if he had got any good deed to depone against Cesnock ? He answered slowly, No yet. He asked if he had got any good deed promised him ? he answered,—No yet. This answering so made people whisper and mutter one to another that he was a knave. When he came to depone, Cesnock desired that the former depositions of the witnesses might be torn before the witness. The Justice General said they were really torn already, but, however, tell the truth now, for your former depositions shall no ways militate against you. To this the advocate assented. The Justice General carried very fairly, and told the witness the hazard of swearing falsely, and interrogated the witness as Cesnock's advocates desired. When Cesnock desired the witness might be interrogated what past betwixt him and Hew Wallace in the Canongate Tolbooth concerning Cesnock, the Justice General refused to propose it in those terms ; but said, he would ask what passed betwixt him and Hugh Wallace in the Canongate Tolbooth in general, but not particularly concerning

Cesnock. Then the advocate said,—My Lord, yeild that much to Cesnock, which he did. Then the advocate said,—Ye see what fair play he getts. Then the witness began, but could make up no distinct discourse, and after he had told how he met Cesnock at one Miller's house, near Gastoun Bridge, and how Cesnock inquired at Miller from whence they came, and who commanded them, and the man's answers ; and when he had said all that was before those words on which the indictment was founded, he stopped, and was silent there. Then the Justice General said,—Have you no more to say ? Said Cesnock, No more. He answered, I can be sure of no more. After this there was a confusion in the house by people speaking and laughing one to another. When the Justice General began again to interrogate him, Nisbet of Craigintiyny, one of the assize, said,—My Lord, I have been upon assizes, and have heard witnesses examin'd before, and after a witness said he had no more to say, there was no more to be speared at him ; and give me leave to say, we are judges of the depositions, and not your lordships ; and if your Lordships will permit us we are content to be gone. However, the Justice General desired the witness to give an account of the meeting and speaking with Cesnock, but he resiled, and stopt as before ; upon which, or at his first resiling, Cesnock took instruments, and the people gave a shout. Then the Advocate rose in a passion, and said, That's the Protestant cry, and I never heard such insolence except in England at Shaftsbury's trial, where, after I had heard a man depone distinctly, and particularly, there came two or three Protestant crys, and made him go back of all he had said ; yea, I swear I could not have done otherways if I had been to depone myself among such a confused and disorderly rabble (using these or the like words) for before they did depone positively, and to the circumstances. Yea, said the Advocate, I never believed Cesnock was guilty till this very moment. The Advocate was in a very great rage, and swore by heaven and such like, saying to Mr. William Fletcher,—I hate you, William Fletcher, I hate you, I swear I hate you, ye speak nonsense.

When Donald Crawford, the other witness, was called, he varied from the other even in that which he did depone, tho' nothing against Cesnock or that could wrong him. Then the

advocate said,—they needed not call any more witnesses. The lords sustained the lybel of converse, and harbour only as an aggravation of the other, thinking, it seems, they would certainly reach him by the first, having the witnesses well secured, tho' it was thought they might have reached him for resett, or the Council by referring it to his oath might have fined him at their pleasure. Now after all legal defences were repelled, and three interloquitors past in the King's favour, so as the help of man was failed, then the Lord (when on the one hand the Advocate and other pursuers suffered the witness to be interrogated particularly, thinking the witness would not fail them, and on the other hand people dispairing) wrought his work, and by confounding and stopping the mouths of false witnesses, brought to nought the wicked and mischievous devices of cruel and bloody men against the innocent gentleman. Then the jury was closed up, and having returned, their verdict finds the lybel not proven. Then instruments being taken, Mr. Kincaid, one of Cesnock's advocates, desired the pannell might be absolved, and accordingly set at liberty. But the Justice General said,—We have other things to lay to Cesnock's charge ; the King sent him down here to be tryed anent the conspiracy :—tho I heard by a good hand that this was false, and that they designed to stage him on that account before he came from London, and accordingly to be tryed about Scots affairs he was sent hither. So the prisoner was taken back to prison, it was near if not past one after midnight before the lords were gone. Cesnock stood not to tell his mind and speak freely, and when the advocate said,—We see what influence religion will have upon witnesses, and we see the treachery of those people,—Cesnock answer'd, There was never such treachery in Scotland, and I hope in God there shall never be the like again. This was indeed the Lord's doing and wonderful to the beholders, and a great surprise to those that heard of it afterwards.

28th.—There was preaching in the new kirk this day, as it was good Friday, there was a letter from the King ordaining it to be kept, and discharged all judicatories to sit.

I was in the Park afternoon with my eldest brother and Mr. William Law.

29th.—This being the last day of the Session, there was a

party of the town guard (by whose order I know not) sent to the Parliament house, to hinder the Advocates' men, writers and others, to break down the bench and bars in the outer house, as their custom had been formerly; but the new custom of bringing soldiers to keep the house in order, was so far from keeping them back or restraining their wonted folly, that it animated the young men to be much more unruly than at other times. After the soldiers had been there a while, they went out, being commanded away by a macer; but Lyon, the Lieutenant, being offended at the serjeant for going away without his order, whoever else had commanded, he being present, caused the party, being about 30, go in again. Then the boys began to cast broken deals and sticks at the soldiers; at which time my Lord Pitmedden came out and commanded them to remove, but they would not; and when he came near them, one of them took him by the breast. The lads seeing this, came thrusting upon the soldiers with great rungs, and chased them out of the house, having broken some of their guns. Then the lads took the partisans belonging to the Marishal's guard that were standing in the outer house, but the soldiers were gone.

30th.—I heard Mr. Edward x—2 Pet. 3. 18.

31st.—The dyet was deserted against about twenty common people.

Afternoon I was in the Park a while with a gentleman I had seen in company with Jo. sqy— . At night I was with my brother. There had scarcely been a shower of rain for 5 months before the end of the last week.

(1st APRIL 1684, Tuesday).—The diet was deserted in the Justice Court this day against Sir John Riddell of that Ilk.

I went to Leith with Ensign Preston, who was taking some of the men he had engaged to go to Holland aboard of the ship in the road belonging to Dunbar. There was in the ship about 200 men belonging to the Hollands officers.

2d.—This morning about nine o'clock Mr. Thomas Hogg took coach for Berwick. I took my farewell of him this morning, he being by act of Council ordained to be out of the kingdom within 48 hours after his coming out of prison, and not

to return without the King or Council's consent, under the pain of 5000 merks. The dyet was deserted against Boquhan Kipdarroch,<sup>1</sup> Thirty acres, Kinkell,<sup>2</sup> etc.

3d.—My brother William and I dined in our eldest brother's. I was with Mr. John Law and his son. William Sythrum was in my chamber.

4th.—I stayed much at home writing.

5th.—I was with my eldest brother in the afternoon, at night with Alexander Inglis in his house.

6th.—I stayed at home, and heard no preaching.

7th.—This day the dyet was deserted against Sir Daniel Carmichael, Hay of Craignethen, Kennedy of Grainge,<sup>3</sup> the Laird of Halcraig.

8th.—Three of Cesnock's assize, vitz., Nisbet of Craigtinny, Sir Patrick Maxwell of Springkell,<sup>4</sup> of Drum compeared before the secret Council, and a lybel read wherein they were accused for their shouting, clapping of hands, and otherways confounding and bumbasing the King's witnesses against Cesnock when they were examined, which they denied, and said they were not to be blamed for the din and noise that was without the Bar. They acknowledged and owned their desiring the witness might be interogated so and so, and that Ingram might be taken notice of when he stopped, and said he had no more to say; and Craigtinny said there were none there shouted more than my Lord Advocate himself, which the Advocate said he had done, but that it was his part to do so. They were delayed till Thursday.

I went to my brother with Will. Law in the afternoon.

9th.—The Earl of Loudoun<sup>5</sup> and Lord Melvill<sup>6</sup> were this day continued till the first Monday of November, and Sir John Cochran<sup>7</sup> was declared fugitive; and yet the Advocate appointed some day of July for his tryal.

John Cochran of Waterside, his son, was insisted against, there being clear probation that he was in company with about 5000 men at a rendevois in Cumnock some days before Both-

<sup>1</sup> Robert Gourlay of Kepdarroch.

<sup>2</sup> For Thomas Kerr of Grange.

<sup>3</sup> James Campbell, Earl of Loudon.

<sup>4</sup> George, Lord Melville.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander Hamilton of Kinkell.

<sup>4</sup> James Somerville of Drum.

<sup>7</sup> Of Ochiltree.

well. Many of his assize were noblemen, for which the King's Advocate made an apology to the noblemen who were on it, alledging for excuse that they were designed for Loudoun and Melvill, and not for a gentleman, and that he could not now help it. The verdict of assize was not opened in court. This day Weir of Newton and Lockhart of<sup>1</sup> were continued till the second Monday of July.

This morning the fields were white with snow, which the sun suddenly melted, and a strong frost to be in April.

In the afternoon I was with my eldest brother, Robert Burnet, and Mr. William Nimmo.

10th.—The witnesses against Craigintinny, and the other two assizers, swore nothing that could make them guilty of a crime, so as they were now free who were said by their noise and confusion that night to have made Cesnock free, and the King's Advocate lost his pains in raising a lybel against them. Waterside was forfault this day.

I was at my Lady Napier's burial (who died of a distemper of one hour or two, having vomited much blood), and helped to carry her corps to the West Kirk, where Lord Napier's burial place was. There was a pole carried above the coffin, with the arms of those from whom she was descended upon it.

11th.—I was in the Castle with John Spens; John M'Kil-ligen was with me.

12th.—I dined with my brother, and was much of the afternoon with Mr. Patrick Sinclair.

13th.—I stayed within all this day, and heard no preaching.

14th.—John Paton, designed Captain Paton, being lately apprehended, was this day examined by four of the Lords of Justiciary. He told how he had been at several engagements for the King against the English, as Leith, Dunbar, etc. He acknowledged he had been at Pentland, and at the desire of some went on before them, and also that he (had) been at Bothwell, but refused to say that he had been a commanding officer at any of them. The Justice-Clerk said,—If you will make discoveries to us, and be free, we doubt not but the King's mercy will go a great length in your favours. Being

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<sup>1</sup> Walter Lockhart of Kirkton.

interrogated where he lodged, with whom he had conversed, and who had furnished and brought meat to him all the time bygone? Answer. I stayed for the most part on the muirs, and have been thousands of nights without; and my wife brought me meat where I was. The King's Advocate enquired if he had ever been in any company or meeting where they discoursed or concluded anything anent killing the King, officers of State, magistrates, or any of us? He said, 'No, not in the least; and I am clear to swear I never heard any such thing mention'd.'

The Advocate desired him to petition the Council, and in it to narrate what services he had done for the King, and acknowledge how far he had been misled in going amongst with the late rebellions: but he acknowledged them not to be rebellions, alledging he never designed rebellion by being at them, yet he said they had now made them rebellion by law. He had a very unconcerned carriage as to any hazard he was in, yet grave, being of a good age. He referred himself wholly to the King. When one who was there said in his face, he was one of them who had bound him and other two soldiers, having them in a moss. Answer,—I wonder how you can come here and lye in my face. I did never see you before, neither did I or would I have done any such thing.

15th.—I was the most part of this day with my eldest brother.

There was a proclamation this day against importation of Irish victual, and beef. Captain Paton was sentenced this day to be hanged Wednesday next in the Grass Market.

I was waiting on the Exchequer about a business of my brother's.

Lady Ann Bruce, second daughter to the deceast Earl of Kincardine, was married to Murray of Stennop in Twedale-shire.

17th.—I went into the New Kirk after some of the clergy, and saw them admitt a young man to the ministry. The bishop read, and they having books in their hands, whiles spoke the words after him, frequently kneeling.

18th.—I was waiting on the Exchequer for my brother's business with Kettlestoun, one part whereof was delayed till the

Session. Cornelius, a quack who came to Edinburgh last week, did on his stage, cure one of his own servants, who had taken some grains of Arsenick, rank poyson; presently after he had taken it he became very big, so as some men behooved to ly above him: in about an hour he came off the stage and went to his chamber, and on the morrow was on the stage as formerly, playing his fool's tricks, he being the mountebank's fool: he took only about the bigness of a hazzel nut of the composition among such liquors as he took the poyson in. A young man on the stage offered him poyson in which there was no liquid corrosive (he having invited all doctors, etc. to bring poyson of the strongest of any apothecary, and promised to take as much as might serve to kill thirty men), but he refused to take it, not knowing the composition of it.

Most part of the gentlemen who came from London had now the benefit of the whole prison, their relations and others getting access to them. Old Rowallan and his son were set at liberty upon bail.

This night, that sin which formerly had oft times the victory over me, and been my great trouble, and against which through the Lord's strength I had resolved, was now again revived, and if the Lord had not altogether hidden his face and refused to hear me when I call: I might take this to be a speaking dispensation if I consider 1st John 5. 18, compared with v. 4 and 5, and Psalm 19. 13. I was now perplexed as to the meaning of those Scriptures, and that of 2d John 9, and also my resolving, the Lord assisting me, not to be the servant of sin any more, and particularly against this sin, might make me the more earnest to get sin subdued. I may impute the Lord's leaving me thus to myself to a want of a suitable acknowledgement of God's goodness in keeping me at my duty, and from sin, for some time; and I may learn neither to be idle nor in idle company, and that when I am idle, doing nothing that is good or lawfull, Satan is ay ready to put an evil turn in both heart and hand.

19th.—I was much of this afternoon with Mr. Patrick Sinclair, and a while with Lathallan.

20th.—I heard Mr. Ja——. Cant. 2. 16, and I was at night with my eldest brother.

21st.—I was this forenoon with Mr. Patrick Sinclair, and afternoon with my brother. Last week there was a proclamation emitted, indicting a religious fast to be kept throughout the whole Kingdom of Scotland, in May. The causes were the Kingdom's delivery from bondage and usurpation, and the King's deliverance from the rebellions and plots, etc., of phantatical enemies; and for the violent storms and frost of the last winter, and the unnatural cold of the spring, whereby already there has been great prejudice, and as yet an apparent danger of more.

22d.—I was this day in company with James Hamilton, merchant in Glasgow. William Paton was a while with me.

23d.—I was with Mr. John Sinclair the forenoon, and afternoon stayed in my own chamber, and wrote to Mr. Robert Langlands.

24th.—I stayed within the forenoon, and afternoon I played two or three scores at the bullets with John Spens.

25th.—This morning the Marquis of Montrose died of a spotted fever, said to be occasioned by eating milk to fish.

I was within much of this day, writing Hope's treatise on the Scots Law, and a while with my eldest brother.

26th.—I was this forenoon with Mr. John Sinclair, and afternoon a while with Alexander Logan.

27th.—I heard Mr. George Z——. Psal. 112. 7.

28th.—I was with , a Galloway gentleman, a religious and discreet man, and with Mr. Andrew Burnet. Afternoon with my eldest brother, and a while with Sir William Preston.

29th.—I dined in the Lady Preston's; my brother William was with me also. I was a little while afternoon in company with Ensign Elphinston, who was going for Holland. Will. Bruce, Blairhall's son, was with him. There was no edification to be got in their company, they insisting on profane and irreligious discourse, unless that by seeing their grossness, and considering how mean and unprofitable a thing it was, even abstract from the sin of it, Religion and sobriety were the more commended to me. I was part of the afternoon in my chamber.

30th.—I was with the Laird of Lathallan, and after that with Mr. William Law.

(MAY 1<sup>st</sup>, 1684, Thursday).—I was this forenoon a little while with Alexander Preston and my brother William, in Alexander Bothwell's chamber, where he sold merchant goods: I was afternoon with Mr. Patrick Crighton and Alexander Inglis, in Trinity Hospital, and then with my eldest brother.

2d.—This morning Montrose's corps were carried from the Abbey Church, and to be layed in his burial place at Aberiven<sup>1</sup> tomorrow. I was all afternoon with my eldest brother. Mr. William Law was there.

3d.—I was with Mr. John Sinclair; afternoon I saw ingineer Fletcher shooting at a mark with cannon. I was in the Cannongate Tolbooth, and saw Andrew Buchanan in Kippen and others.

4th.—I heard no sermon; being invited I supped at night in the Lady Preston's with Sir William Preston, and my brother William. When reading on a gazette I was challenged as doing that which was a breach of the Lord's day. The person mockingly alledged (that) I scrupled at other things but cared not to do the like of that. I could not altogether justifie this in myself, or the too great curiosity some have in seeking after and reading of news on the Lord's day: tho in some cases, as when the design of the person is good who inquireth for them, it is allowable. By this I may learn not to be ashamed of duty, and to shun every appearance of evil in any company or before whatsoever person, seeing persons who are not strict in matters of religion themselves, will take all the advantage they can of some they think religious, by reproving that in them which is, it may be, their daily practice.

I bless God, who was pleased thus to admonish me several times, when otherways I might have continued obstinate in these sins, and I wish the Lord may help me to have my principles grounded according to God's word before I mentain or reject opinions positively, and if I be not clearly satisfied, to be silent. Prov. 17. 28.

5th.—I was a part of this day with Innergelly, having met him shortly after he came to town.

6th.—This morning the Treasurer took journey to London,

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<sup>1</sup> Aberruthven, Perthshire, an ancient home of the Grahames.

and with him the Justice General, Treasurer Depute, and Lord Drumlanerk his own son, and the Lord Register.

7th.—This was the fast day appointed to be kept by the Council because of the bad weather, etc. As to the form and external part of religion, the generality of people were more observant of this day than the Sabbath, which might be because the commands of men were more regarded and strictlier put in execution than the commands and law of God. I was afternoon with my brother, and Mr. Thomas Rigg was with him.

8th.—Forenoon, I was in the Physick Garden with Alexander and Charles Preston.

The chancellour took post for London this morning, and with him the Earl of Dumfermling, Gordon of Rothemay, Maitland of . . . . On Monday, the Lord Castlehill<sup>1</sup> and Lord Kennedy both took journey, on the chancellour's account.

9th.—The Laird of Gordonston went for Court, also for the Chancellour.

Captain Paton was executed this day, tho it was thought he would have gotten a reprieve and then a remission, being an old man, and having several times served the King.

10th.—I went to the Park this morning with Alexander and Charles Preston, and Mr. John Magie, that I might learn to know the field herbs. I was with my brother.

Afternoon I was with James Stewart, and Gartur, who went to Torrie this day.

11th.—I stayed at home this day, and heard no preaching.

12th.—I was much of this day with James Stewart, Coltness' son, a student of the law, a smart and understanding young man as I know.

13th.—I was with Alexander Preston both forenoon and afternoon, and a while with my brother.

14th.—My brother William went for Torrie, and my good-sister for Cardross. I was in the Tolbooth seeing Mr. John Rae. I was also a while with Mr. William Carstairs. I stayed this night with my brother.

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<sup>1</sup> Sir John Lockhart.

15th.—This morning I went to the Park with Charles Preston and John Magie, that I might learn the herbs, and stayed with them till about twelve.

Alas, sin and corruption was now much prevailing, and I fear I may say I came the length of presumptuous sins, and, which is most lamentable, I am afraid that a true conviction of sin, and a repentance not to be repented of for sin, has never been truely designed nor win at by me, otherways sin would not have so much prevailed.

I was much of this day with Alexander Inglis, and a while with John Spens in Alexander Logan's.

17th.—I dined with my brother, George Sterling, and Thomas Rigg, Mr. Alexander Hugens of Craigforth, in one Innes's, east from the Abbey, called Clockmill,<sup>1</sup> and was much of the afternoon there. Thursday was eight days there was great swarms of flies both in Edinburgh and the fields about it. I observed there would have been 30 and more sitting on a stone a foot square: they were observed the day before, and also some days after, it was a long small fly, gray coloured.

18th.—I heard Mr. John Law, Math. 15. 18.

19th.—I was in the Castle this morning at A. Forbes's. I was in Patrick Thomson's afternoon.

20th.—I was seeing several persons, and about six at night came from Edinburgh to Torrie, with my eldest brother and George Stirling, surgeon apothecary in Edinburgh.

21st.—George Stirling and Gartur, who had been in Torrie, went away this morning. I walked in the fields about Inzever Dam with my brother. Mr. Thomas Robb and William Sythrum came here.

22d.—The Lady Arniston, Broomhall and his Lady, were here. I was a while with John Crockat. Sin and corruption was growing, and I was neither repenting aright nor yet using means to prevent them.

23d.—I was in Culross with my mother and eldest brother, dining in Broomhalls, and afternoon went to Blair with my brother.

<sup>1</sup> Formerly called Clocksorow mill.

24th.—I went to Culross with William Bruce. I was in Esther Shaw's, and with Will. Adam.

25th.—I heard Mr. Thomas Robb, Psalm 85. 8—‘I will hear what God the Lord will speak.’

26th.—The Lady Arnistoun and Miss Mag. Erskine were here.

This day I stayed within with my eldest brother, drawing a line of those from whom I was descended.

27th.—This morning I went to the tod<sup>1</sup> hunting with my brother William and Henry Sands, after that I went to Culross with my Lady.

28th.—I had now some thoughts of going to Carolina, but I was apprehensive my going there might put a stop to my other studies, not knowing when I might return. This had much weight with me. I came from Torrie about five at night to Pitliver, with my mother, eldest brother, and sister Mag. We came from Pitliver before seven, and was at Edinburgh betwixt eleven and twelve.

29th.—The ordinary solemnities of the King's birthday were practised. There was a theatre erected beneath the cross, whereon was a covered table of sweetmeats. The Magistrates were on it, and Athole, the Privy Seal, Duke of Hamilton, Marquis of Douglass, Earl of Tweddale, and others. The town companies were in arms. When the last company came in, they found Graham's company standing in the place where they ought to be, so they caused the company remove and draw up beneath the guard. There was rain the whole time the magistrates were upon the theatre.

30th.—I dined with my eldest brother, and went to the fields afternoon with Mr. Andrew Bowie and William Law.

31st.—My thoughts were troubled anent my going or not going to Carolina: on the one hand I was inclined to go there, I loved the persons who were going their design, and the pleasure and retiredness of the country itself was no small motive, especially considering the occasion of hearing the Gospel there, and that contempt and reproach was cast upon it and the people adhering to it in Scotland, and how great

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<sup>1</sup> Fox.

profanity, atheism, and all sorts of wickedness was abounding in Scotland ; yet I had several reasons against it, one whereof was that my going there might put a stop to the studying of the law, which now for several years I had designed, yet in a dependance on the Lord's will that He might incline me to follow that wherein I might be most serviceable to Him.

I dined in my brother's with the Lady Innergelly; afternoon I was in the Park.

(JUNE 1<sup>st</sup>, 1684, Sabbath).—I heard no preaching.

2d.—Speaking with Mr. John Law last week anent going to Carolina, he said it was a serious business, requiring great deliberation, and desired me to set apart some portion of time for prayer, that I might earnestly and seriously ask counsel of God, laying aside all intentions of my own, that I might be disposed of by him at His pleasure. Thus he advised me both freely and kindly, for which I thank the Lord, and am obliged to Mr. Law, and I wish the Lord would help me in every step of my life so to seek his direction, and make his will my will, and that He would condescend to direct me, and incline me to follow His direction. So I fixed upon this day to seek and know the Lord's mind, how, by what manner of life, and where, I might be most for His glory and usefull in my generation ; and earnestly desiring that the Lord would help me freely and cordially to resign myself to Him, which (to my apprehension) I did chearfully, and with gladness of heart ; and that accordingly he would accept my offer by disposing of and fixing me in that station wherein I through his blessing, which I desire in every step of my life, seeing that is the end for which I came into the world, and that I might make a right use, and be content with every condition he placed me in,—If in prosperity to be humble, and if in adversity to be content ; and rely upon him, seeing He who searches and understands the hearts of all men knows best what is meetest for me.

I inclined now not to go to Carolina, seeing my going might for a time impede if not altogether stop my studying the law, which I had for several years intended. My friends also being most willing and inclining to it, this prevailed with me, tho yet I desire to rely upon God's direction.

The Chancellour came to the Abbey this morning, having rode post from Court. I could not learn whether he had lost his place or not ; their affairs were now kepted very secret.<sup>1</sup>

3d.—I dined in my aunt's, and was in company with Alexander Preston.

4th.—I got little time to stay in the writing chamber, having several little things to do for my eldest brother and myself, which occasioned my going much through the town.

5th.—I was with my brother, and also with Sir William Preston. I chambered with Alexander Preston.

6th.—I was much of the afternoon with my brother, and at night with Gartur.

7th.—I was this morning with the Earl of Monteath, and then with Mr. Andrew Burnet of Waristoun.

8th.—I heard Mr. John Law, Psal.

9th.—Thursday last, I think it was, the Chancellour, who came on a sudden from London, went suddenly to Aberdeen, and for what I could observe he was still so in all changes befalling him.

I was in company with Mr. William Symmer in the Physick Garden. I did see thereabout, two companies of children, on each side about 30 or 40, who by throwing of stones were forwardly putting one another to the chase. This custom I have seen about eight years ago at Edinburgh.<sup>2</sup>

10th.—I was a while in company with David Arnot, and also with Kinkell and Pitcurr.

11th.—I was with Garturr and his brother in the afternoon.

12th.—I dined with my brother. My mother, and my sister Magdalen took horse about 8 at night. Cha. Preston went with her.

13th.—I rose early this morning that I might see Mr. Will. Dunlop, who was going for Glasgow to prepare for his own and other persons going to Carolina.

I came from my chamber at Mrs. Brisbain's at the Netherbow

<sup>1</sup> The chancellor, Lord Aberdeen, was deprived of his office at this time, on the ground, it is said, that he had opposed the Act of Council by which husbands were fined for their wives frequenting conventicles. He was succeeded by the Earl of Perth.

<sup>2</sup> The same custom prevailed down to the present century.

to the Grassmarket, and then to the Castlehill, where I did ly on the brae till the castle drum at four oclock was beat, then I met with Henry Donaldson, who having gone to Mr. William's, was desired to call again at six in the morning. After this I met with Gartur, and went with him to his brother John who was on the King's Guard, and going this morning out of town. We took a drink with him and another gentleman of the Guard, and having stayed an hour or thereby Gartur and I left them.

14th.—I was much of this day with my brother, and a while with the Earl of Monteath. This was very hot weather.

15th.—I heard no preaching.

16th.—I was much of this day with my brother, and a while with Mr. John Law and his son. I was also with George Bell, merchant.

17th.—My brother William came to town this night. There was much rain, thunder, and lightning. There was now a great noise of a field preaching which was at the Black loch in — parish. Mr. Rannie, a young man lately come from the colledge, and it seems more forward than wise, being the preacher, there was about 70 in arms.

18th.—I borrowed this day from Alexander Henryson £30 Scots, and gave my bond.

I was several times with Gartur and Will. Veitch.

19th.—This morning betwixt twelve and one, my eldest brother and I took horse at the Watergate, and came to Alexander Hamilton's in Kirkhill, where we slept for eight hours with our cloaths on; and about 7 at night took horse and came to Sachinford, where we baited about twelve; and then came to Boquhan about three in the next morning.

20th.—We stayed at Boquhan till eleven at night, and then went to Cardross. J. K. was in Boquhan.

21st.—We came to Cardross about three in the morning. I was in Gartur, and in Robert Graham's, and a while at the fishing in Forth with George Reid and John Finlayson, who came from Edinburgh with my Lady.

22d.—I stayed at home all this day. My brother went to the fields this night, where he stayed till the next morning, fearing lest any of his creditors or others who were evil dis-

posed against him should attempt any thing against his person.

23d.—John Knox came here this night. I was in the fields all night with my brother.

24th.—I was a while in a barn in the morning before I came into the house with my brother; I went not to bed nor cast off my cloaths. I was in the fields a while with John Knox.

25th.—I was a while in a barn this morning also with my brother; before we came in Gartur was with him. Robert Graham was a while in Cardross. I went out this night also, James Sommervel being with him, several men were watching in several parts about. We had all highland plaids to ly in.

26th.—I was writing for my brother this forenoon. I was in the fields with him and John Knox in the afternoon. Gartur and his brother Robert were in Cardross.

27th.—I went out with my brother this night, Robert Graham being with him; also there being some unknown men seen about the house, we were alarmed and went some further off: about midnight, hearing a shot off the house of Cardross, we went further towards the house of Gartur.

27th.—Before the sun rose Gartur and I left my brother and Robert Graham, who were intending for the Isle of Monteath, and then I came to Cardross, but found no trouble there, only that there had been several men seen who were thought at least to be spies; then I returned with Gartur, and came to Ardmach where my brother was waiting for a boat, so we went all to the Easter Isle, and dined in the yard with the Earl of Menteath, who entertained us kindly, and took journey for Edinburgh in the afternoon. This was a very hot day, and the shade of the trees did not supply the want of a house. The heat of the sun, which was very troublesome, began to abate no sooner than sin and nature began to work and stirr in me, which are far more troublesome to those who are toutched and affected with and humbled for them. I may see how ready Satan is ever, when people are in the least trouble and disorder, to take his advantage, and by engaging people piece by piece to sin, and at length if he cannot prevail to possess them as his servants, to attempt to make them despair. Now I pray the Lord would help me not only to remember and confess, but

to confess and forsake sin. I did eat some straw and rizer<sup>1</sup> berries: having supt we came out of the Isle after sun set, and lay all night among the fairns in Ardmach.

28th.—We came near Gartur's house about sun rising, and stayed some hours, and then came to his house where we stayed till night, and then came to Cardross.

29th.—I stayed at home, John Knox exercising in the family. This night my eldest brother left Cardross, and in it his Lady and six children and family (taking only William Stevenson one of his household servants, beside other men with him) from whom he had a parting sorrowful and full of tears, he being hardly master of his own. He and I went from the house to Gartur, and then after ten at night took horse, Gartur and his brother being with us, being necessitated to ride the Sabbath day, fearing the envy and malice of some of his creditors. We rode by Gartmore, Drummond,<sup>2</sup> and Drummillkill.

30th.—We then came to John Brice's house at the Catter, where Gartur and his brother left us about day light, John Brice guiding us to the boat of the Balloch on Leven where we past the water, and then came to an inn at Coulgreen, where we stayed till afternoon, and sent William Stevenson to Greenock for Mr. William Dunlop.<sup>3</sup> So afternoon Skermorly<sup>4</sup> brought over his boat, and with him Mr. William Dunlop, Hew Brown, Mr. Cunningham, and others. We boated at the Hill of Ardmore, pleasantly situated and almost environed with the river of Clyde. We landed at Newport, Glasgow, and met with Archibald Montgomery, Skermorly's brother there: where we stayed more than an hour. We came then in the boat to Crawfordsdyke, where we stayed all night.<sup>5</sup>

(1st JULY 1684, Tuesday.)—The ship that was intending for Carolina was in this harbour. There was a guard in the ship, waiting on prisoners who were brought from Edinburgh, Cannongate, and Glasgow Tolbooths. Robert Fleming, for-

<sup>1</sup> Currants.

<sup>2</sup> Drymen.

<sup>3</sup> Afterwards Principal of the University of Glasgow. He was now, along with Lord Cardross, about to emigrate from their oppressed native land.

<sup>4</sup> Sir James Montgomerie of Skelmorlie, Baronet.

merly my father's domestick servant, and now Admiral Depute of this river, came and visited my brother, tendering him his service in this place. Afternoon we took boat with Skermorly, his brother, Hew Brown, etc., designing for Skermorly, but when on sea we resolved to go see the Castle of Carrick, but we neither saw it nor yet (the wind being contrary) were we able to row the boat out of Loch Lung, so that we were necessitated to land at a fisherman's house upon the loch.

2d.—This morning we came out of Loch Lung to the old castle of Denun, where we breakfasted, the people taking extraordinary prices for meat as £1 . 4 . for three little chickens fryed, with about twelve eggs. From this we came to Skermorly, in Cunningham shire, where the old Lady stayed. We dined there, and then came on horseback to the Largs, which is about three miles; and Skermorly having sent his man to get us lodgings and entertainment, we took a boat here, and went in to the Isle of Meikle Combra, or Cumray, being betwixt two and three miles in length and about half as much in breadth. We lodged in the house of Mr. Alexander Symmer, a Presbyterian nonconforming minister. He did preach for some time under bishops, but not keeping their meetings nor otherways obeying their jurisdiction, was necessitated to leave his ministry in Meikle Cumray, yet he still resided upon the place.

3d.—Skermorly's servant having ordered his master's officer to provide us meat as we desired it, went away. We saw no appearance of the ship's sailing this day. The Isle of Little Cumray lay to the south of this Isle, and the Isle of Boat<sup>1</sup> to the north of it. My brother might have stayed here very retiredly, and yet been diverted by Mr. Symers's company. We discovered not our selves to them.

4th.—Pat. Rollo brought a letter from Mr. William Dunlop, desiring him to come to Gurock, where the ship was to ly, because the ship might pass Cumray in the night, and he not know of her. About midday we came to the Largs, the boatman not being able to reach Gurock, and having tried for horses we could get none, till fortunately we met

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<sup>1</sup> Bute.

Skermorly who caused get us three, loosing some out of sledges.

We saw, at this church, Skermorly's Tomb, which is said to be one of the finest in Scotland, yet not of marble. We took horse about four, and having stayed a while at Skermorly we came to Gurock, where the ship was lying, and lodged in Robert M'Neils there, which is nine miles from the Largs.

5th.—I went aboard the Carolina Merchant, for so was the ship called, which was now going to sail for Carolina in America. There were in her 35 prisoners, who were gifted to Walter Gibson,<sup>1</sup> and ordained to be transported to America: five were taken from Edinburgh, and five from the Cannongate prison, and the rest from Glasgow. There was in all, including seamen, to be in her about 140 souls. The ship's burthen is 170 tons and carried 16 guns. About six at night I hired a boat and came to Ardmore hill, where with difficulty I was provided of a horse to John Brice's in Middle Catter for 24/, being seven or eight miles.

6th.—This morning early I came from John Brice's, and was in Cardross about six, which I think is large fifteen miles from Ardmorehill. John Knox was there.

7th.—After dinner I took horse, and came to Ardmore hill about midnight, being very wet from the rain and wind which blew in my face.

8th.—I came to my brother at Gurock, who was still waiting for a fair wind to the Carolina ship.

9th.—I went to the fields about Castlemilk.

10th.—My brother went this day to the ship, and I with him.

Robert Fleming, Admiral Depute of the Clyde, came to see my brother.

11th.—I had here no business but to wait on my brother. I read sometimes on Clelia a romance.

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<sup>1</sup> Gibson was a merchant in Glasgow. The Act for the transportation of the prisoners is in these terms:—‘To the effect that such of them as appear penitent may taste and share of his majesty's great clemency and mercy,’ the Council authorise their commissioners ‘to sentence and banish such of them as appear penitent, to the plantations in America.’ Such was the conception of mercy of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in those days.

12th.—This day the Earl of Glencairn, and with him the Laird of Bishoptoun,<sup>1</sup> gave my brother a visit at Gurock, tho they had scarcely been in speaking terms for several years, because of Lady Margaret Cunningham's marriage to Sir John Maitland.<sup>2</sup> My brother, finding the wind not fair, and knowing that the ship would not sail, and that there was no hazard for his person on the Lord's day, he resolved to go see his Lady and children. We took boat at Gurock and came to Ardmore at sunset, and having got a lend of horses from John Noble of Fermes, who came to him a little after landing, and sent a servant to show us the way to the Balloch, where we waited a considerable time for the boat, the people being in bed. We came to the Catter about midnight.

13th.—We came from the Catter about daylight, and were at Cardross about five or six. It troubled me that I should journey any on the Sabbath, but in respect he could not leave the ship, because she might have sailed on another day, and could not be safe in Cardross any other day, I thought there might be the more said for it as of necessity.

14th.—We took horse at Cardross yesternight about eleven and came to the Catter; from this John Buchanan of Garbeth convoyed us to the Balloch, where he and John Brice left us.

We came next to Alexander Brice's boatman at Ardmore hill, about eight in the morning.

In a little while, John Noble of Fermes hearing we were returned, came to us, and there being much rain and wind, desired my Lord to go to his house on the Hill of Ardmore, which we did; his eldest son William was with him. This hill was formerly and is still, in writts, called Ardardan, where Dardanus, the 22d King of Scotland, lived. There will be about 10 acres of land above the height of the hill, and some laigh almost environed with the sea. They have a good fruit yard.

15th.—We were seeing the oldest Laird (for there are three alive) who is 82 years old, and yet a well-favoured man, and had been, and still is honest-hearted, his wife being very old

<sup>1</sup> John Brisbane.

<sup>2</sup> Second son of Charles third Earl of Lauderdale. He succeeded as fifth earl in 1695. His wife was the only child of the tenth Earl of Glencairn.

likeways. We went likeways to Kilmahew,<sup>1</sup> who came from his own house to Ardmorehill with my Lord. We stayed all this night also with Fermes.

16th.—We came this day from Ardmore to Gurock, Fermes and his son being with us.

We supped this night in the house of Gurock with the Lady Castlemilk, who was a sister of this Lord Carmichael's.<sup>2</sup> Mr. James Drummond, a Presbyterian minister, was there.

17th.—We saw Mr. William Dunlop and supped with Walter Gibson in his own house. The ship that was going to Carolina was his, and he was sending a considerable interest thither, being also an undertaker of that business.

18th.—The weather was now turned cold and rainie, as it had been for most part of all July, June being exceeding hot, and the winter in the extremity of cold, and so for most part in extremes, the frost having destroyed for the most part broom and whins wherever I travelled, and also tender trees and herbs as figs, vines, rosemary.

19th.—The wind being somewhat fair at night, the skipper resolved to sail on Sabbath morning, but did it not, many passengers were against sailing either on Saturday night or Sabbath.

20th.—I heard Mr. William Dunlop, Cant. 2. 16, 17, in a little garret on the top of —— House, the Lady not daring to be any way publick. Mr. William Dunlop was the only preacher that was to go for Carolina in this ship. He was not ordained. He preached well, and was otherways accomplished.

We supped with the Lady Castlemilk.

21st.—This morning, about seven, the Carolina Merchant loosed from Gurock, designing for Port Royal in the Province of Carolina in North America, where the Scots designed first to plant, whither I pray the Lord may safely bring them if it be his will, and the design of Him; and that he may continue with, and dwell among them while there.

My brother, Henry Lord Cardross, who was designing for Carolina in her, took a boat and went aboard of her. The

<sup>1</sup> The Napiers were lairds of this place.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Archibald Stewart of Castlemilk married Mary, sister of John, Lord Carmichael.

Laird, William<sup>1</sup> of Fermes, convoyed him to the ship, Bunten<sup>2</sup> of — being with him.

Mr. Cuming, a trumpeter, was in the boat, and sounded several times, which was truely pleasant upon sea; he was going along with the ship. Thomas Steil, now designed Thomson, was with us, who was going to Carolina.

Betwixt eleven and twelve o'clock I left my brother aboard, who now, because of the cruelty and illegall proceedings of St. — off — and the corruptions and antichristian latitude of bishops and their dependents, the now pretended officers of the church, and because of the tyranny and usurpation of both which was daily growing, and all this tending to promote — interest by extirpating Presbyterians out of Scotland (which I hope in God shall never be). The number, presumption, and interest of pa—sts was now fast growing in Scotland, notwithstanding of all the standing laws against it, neither could my brother get either law or justice in his own private affairs. My brother was to have about seven or eight servants, and I was to have the interest of one servant there, having advanced £174 Scots in money besides about £4 Sterling in goods, my brother managing it in one with his own, the freight of every man and woman being £5 Sterling, the master of the ship furnishing them meat, &c., upon sea.<sup>3</sup> They took as much provision as might serve themselves till they had reaped the fruits of the ground the next year.

Montgomery of Crevoock was als going thither with his son. Alexander Ure, a webster, who lived under my brother, went voluntarily with him, leaving his family behind him for a time. George Buchanan, one of the prisoners, was his tennant.

I came from the ship to Walter Gibson's house with Fermes, and Mr. John Cunningham, who had some office in the custom house; and having taken a glass of wine with Walter's wife we came to Gurock, from that Fermes and I came to Greenock,

<sup>1</sup> William Noble.

<sup>2</sup> This may refer either to Major Hugh Bontein of Kilbryde, or to Nicol Bontein of Ardoch.

<sup>3</sup> The captain of the vessel was James Gibson, brother to the owner. The prisoners were very harshly treated on the voyage, and very few survived to return to Scotland.

where we took boat to Ardmore. I stayed with Fermes all night.

22d.—I took horse about nine with Fermes, who intended to see my good-sister at Cardross, and came to the Catter, and dined with Garbeth in his own house, and came to Cardross about the evening, I having called at William Strang's in Buchlivie.

23d.—Fermes went away this morning. I was in the fields with John Knox.

On the 21st instant, the Laird of M'Farland was taken out of his own house by two companies of soldiers, because of alledged correspondence betwixt him and Argyle. They like-ways pretended to search for arms belonging to Argyle. They found about thirty stand of arms, which M'Farland said belonged to another man: however, he was taken to the Castle of Dumbrition. This week Colonel Menzies and the young Laird of Weems were apprehended, on the same account of alledged converse with Argyle.

24th.—I went to Gartur this day, where I stayed all night.

25th.—This morning I went with Gartur to his brother Robert's, and he being busy about his peats I stayed not, but came to Cardross.

26th.—I was a while at the fishing with John Knox, and John Reid, who taught my brother's children. By this time I had heard from Boquhan, who had seen my brother at the Isle of Meikle Cumray, that the Carolina ship the same day she loosed from Gurock anchored at that Isle, and stayed till the Thursday morning thereafter, at which time she sailed.

27th.—I stayed at home all day, John Knox exercising in the family.

28th.—I came from Cardross this afternoon with John Knox, and having called at Harry Dow's by the way, we came to Boquhan.

29th.—I was at the fishing with Bouquhan and John Knox, and afternoon went to Buchaple to see Mr. Thomas Forrester's<sup>1</sup> wife and children.

<sup>1</sup> Was minister at Alva, but deposed in 1674 for holding conventicles. After the Revolution he was Principal of the New College, St. Andrews.

30th.—I came from Boquhan to Torrie where was Charles Preston, Miss Mag. Lumsden, and Miss Preston, Valleyfield's daughter.

31st.—I went a little while, and only the length of Inzever Dam, to the gunning with Thomas Bruce.

(AUGUST 1st, 1684, Friday.)—I went to Inverkeithing market, where there was very many horses, tho' for the most part not good ones.

I was in Mr. Andrew Thomson's, a young presbyterian preacher. Our shearing was begun this day.

2d.—I was gunning with Mr. John Magie and Patrick Sands.

3d.—I stayed at home all day; my brother Will, Miss Magdalén Lumsden and my sister went all to Torrieburn church.

4th.—John Spens was in Torrie.

5th.—This morning, before day light, about 20 persons who had taken a poind of about eighteen horses, and other cattell, out of Overtoun, wounded William Gibson's four sons, so as the eldest of them died at night, and another was in hazard, and did wound another man and woman, tho' there was no resistance made.

6th.—I went to the Valleyfield, and from that to the Overtoun with Charles Preston, where I saw the men, who were indeed very ill wounded, and very innocently, having only come to the door with their cloaths scarce on, and making no resistance, two of them not being together at that time.

It was no wonder that messengers convened men in a hostile manner, and did other things against law, seeing my Lord Cardross, who had pursued one in winter last for the same crime, had got not satisfaction either according to law or equity.

7th.—John Spens was here. I was ordering some publick papers of my own.

8th.—This was a rainy and windy day, and therefore stopped my intended journey for Edinburgh. I could not get applied to any study solidly, not being to stay any time at Torrie for present.

9th.—I was at Pitliver and Broomhall. There came an

order from the King's Advocate for apprehending — Small, messenger, and George Bruce, who were at the killing of Robert Gibson ; so there was about sixteen horsemen sent to search for them, but they apprehended only the messenger. I went the length of Saline after those who were sent with the order, and found that the order was only special as to two of the persons. I was in the Laird of Kavell's,<sup>1</sup> and did see Evelick<sup>2</sup> there, and Doctor Halket. I did see Wishaw and his Lady at Broomhall.

10th.—I heard no preaching.

Hearing a noise in the yard, I went out and found several boys in it who were buying fruit from the keeper of the yard, it being set to a man of Culross. I told him I would not permitt him to make any merchandize there or make that a market place on the Lord's day, and discharged the boys to come there, but tho' this had been done before, yet they forbore not altogether to come.

11th.—I took boat this forenoon at Cromy with Charles Preston and my brother William, and came to Blackness, where, in the castle, we did visit Mr. William Erskine,<sup>3</sup> a presbyterian minister who had been a prisoner there a long time, and also the Lady Caldwall,<sup>4</sup> who was prisoner there.

In the afternoon Charles Preston and I came to Cramond Bridge on foot, where we stayed all night in a smith's house, there being a great rain when we came there.

12th.—I came to Edinburgh this day, and dined in Blairhall's with William Bruce and Sir William Preston. Afternoon I went to Leith, and met the Regiment of Foot formerly called Linlithgow's coming out of the Links. Colonel Douglass, brother to the Treasurer, being this day received as their Colonel in place of Linlithgow, who was now made Justice

<sup>1</sup> This estate, in the parish of Dunfermline, belonged to a family named Barclay.

<sup>2</sup> In 1665, Alexander Lindsay of Evelick, in Perthshire, was served heir to his father, Alexander Lindsay, in lands of Melginsh and others.

<sup>3</sup> He was ordained as minister of Girthon, in Galloway, in 1658, and deprived in 1662 for opposing prelacy. He was intercommuned in 1675, and at the date in the text had been seven years a prisoner.

<sup>4</sup> Widow of William Muir of Caldwell, who died in exile. She and her eldest daughter, Jean, were imprisoned without trial for three years, for the crime of hearing a Presbyterian minister preach in her own house in Glasgow.

General, succeeding to that place in Perth's room, who was now made Chancellour in the E. of Aberdeen's place, who was now laid aside, I'll not say discourted with York, whose Chancellour I may call him.

13th.—I was this day a while with Robert Colvill, agent, and a while with the Laird of Pitliver<sup>1</sup> in the horse market.

14th.—I gave a letter to — Archibald, surgeon of the ship that was freighted by — Maloch,<sup>2</sup> to go for Carolina, to be given to my brother. There was in this ship about 150 persons he had got a gift of. They sailed this day from Leith road.

I was in company with James Stewart, son to Cultness, Mr. Mackie, and Mr. James Balfour.

15th.—I was all this forenoon at a Justice Court, at which three men were panneled who had been apprehended at Enterkin hill, near to the place where some time before two of the King's forces were killed, and some prisoners rescued. Three dragoons deponed against them, that upon the approach of four dragoons, one of the pannels snaped a gun at them, one of the soldiers alledging it was not snaped, but presented only, and then that they left their arms and fled to a wood. One of them alledged he carried no arms but what he had a warrant for from the Treasurer to carry, who was yet due him £40 Scots for fowls. Another affirmed he had no arms but a little knife. They refused to answer questions which might be a ground of dittay against them, one of them, being interrogated if Bothwell was rebellion, he said if it was rebellion against God then it was rebellion.

The Judge inquired again if it was not rebellion against the King? The pannel desired to know, and that they would state, the difference betwixt rebellion against God, and rebellion against the King, to which they gave him no answer. They said the witnesses were not the men that apprehended them, and so could not know if they had arms; but desired they

<sup>1</sup> In 1670 Mr. John Dempstar is mentioned in the Retours as laird of Pitliver, near Dunfermline.

<sup>2</sup> George Malloch, merchant in Edinburgh. He petitioned the Privy Council to prefer his ship to that of Walter Gibson of Glasgow, on the ground that there was less chance of the prisoners escaping on the way, and that the expense of transporting them to Greenock would be saved.

might be brought in, but it was not done : they were all three wounded. They desired that they might be allowed advocates to speak for them, but they prevailed not so. The assize was set, and having returned, the following sentence was pronounced after one o'clock, that they should be taken betwixt three and five of this same afternoon to the Grassmarket and there hanged till they die.

They earnestly desired some more time, but got it not. They were not allowed a private room in the prison, but were keepeed in the common and publick hall.

A little before they were taken out they had but about two hours to prepare for death. This is popish cruelty, tho' covered with a Pro—— mask. When they were brought to the laigh council house, they refused to hear Mr. Ramsay, one of the town curates, pray. One of them told him that he and such as he was the cause of their and other persons' blood, shed on that account, for a long time.

Baillie Chancellor told them they would not be permitted either to speak or pray in publick, for, said he, the people need not the instruction of your prayers, who do much hurt to the people by them ; and seeing prayer is offered up to God ye may pray privately : The words indeed of an ignorant apostate, as the Baillie was, as if prayer were for instruction only, and as if there was no such thing as joining in prayer by hearers. The drum was beat when one of them was reading a chapter of the Bible, he continuing longer than they thought fit ; another was interrupted when at prayer, and abruptly thrown over. I cannot say they mentained any extravagant principles, neither was there any such practice proven against them ; one of them owned self-defence as lawfull.

—<sup>1</sup> about 19 years of age, was executed the 1st of this month for being at Bothwell. This was the first time that people were restrained to speak or pray publickly.

I was in company at night with James and Walter Stewarts, Mr. James Stevenson, Robert Park, Mr. Patrick Shiels. I dined in an inn with Mr. Gray, a west country curate, he being

<sup>1</sup> The name of this youth was Arthur Tacket. On 26th July the Council ordered that his execution should be deferred from the Wednesday then next to the Friday, because the former day was to be kept as a fast.

with Charles Preston, yet not very willingly, tho' he was very discreet to me and moderate in his discourse in respect of others; but it troubled me when I remembered that David did not so much as (sit) with dissemlers, which I took the most part of them to be.

16th.—I was seeing Mr. John Rae, and James Hamilton, in Edinburgh Tolbooth: I did see also Mr. —— Wishart,<sup>1</sup> Mr. William Wishart's son. I was seeing Mr. John Law. Mr. William Carstairs<sup>2</sup> was this day eight days put in closs prison again, and also put in irons. All the rest of the prisoners, who were brought from London, were also put in close prison, the two Rowallans and Mr. Robert Murray being only at liberty.

On Friday, the 25th of July last, Mr. William Spens, sometime Argyle's Secretary, was put in the boots, and received many strokes till his leg was quite crushed. They alledged he was one Mr. Butler spoke of in some letters, and that he could discover many things concerning Argyle's proceedings and resolutions. Having as yet discovered nothing, he was taken from the Council to the Cannongate, and there put in the Guard hall, and set upon a form where he had nothing to lean on, the soldiers being commanded to keep him from sleep, which they did till Saturday the 2d August, so as, holding his hat before his face designing to seek a blessing to his meat, his head fell into his hat.

The surgeon, who was ordained to dress his leg by the council only once, out of compassion to the man left with him a glass of ointment, which he was to put upon his leg at diverse times: The soldiers (whether by order or not I know not) took it from him. The council then fearing he would not be able to subsist, caused take him to Edinburgh Tolbooth, where he got sleep, and on Tuesday thereafter he was called before the council, and his leg being booted, he received two or three strokes.

Now they had another torturing instrument prepared, which they called thumbkins, which they fastned upon his thumbs till

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. William Wishart, then a student, afterwards Principal of the University of Edinburgh.

<sup>2</sup> The well-known Principal Carstairs.

the broken bone was appearing thro' the skin.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Spens was next put in the Castle, and there kept close. Thus cruelly did Perth begin, which made him and his government hatefull to the people; but it was now visible that the Treasurer had the chief managing of affairs, the Chancellour being only as an agent or a wheel set on motion, fast or slow, backward or forward, as other men please.

17th.—I heard no preaching. I supped in Mr. Rigg's with Baillie Justice.

18th.—I was seeing Mr. Alexander Moncrief,<sup>2</sup> and the Laird of Lathallan, and was a while with Pitliver.

19th.—Now the Council was still sitting at Edinburgh, tho' it was the throng of harvest; and I may say they are busy about their harvest, the effects whereof may be felt by many who are now not aware of it. I came from Edinburgh after five at night, with William Sythrum, and stayed in an inn in Queensferry all night.

20th.—This morning, after I had seen Mr. Alexander Dalglish and his wife, I came to Blackness with William Sythrum, having stayed with Mr. William Erskine till afternoon, who walked about a quarter of a mile with me, he having liberty to come without the castle, with a keeper.

I was in Mr. Robert Steedman's, then I came over in the Cromy boat, and found Mr. Thomas Robb at Torrie.

21st.—I went this day with Alexander, Thomas, and Charles Bruce, who were going to William Halley in Saline, to speak with him anent the spulzie committed at Overtoun when Robert Gibson was killed, he being agent in the matter; we went first to Overtoun and then to William Halley.

22d.—This day we began to lead bear.<sup>3</sup> I was a while with

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<sup>1</sup> On 23d July 1684, the Council, 'considering that the usuall way of torture for expiscating matters relating to the government hath been formerly by the Boots, and that there is now a new Invention and Ingyne called the Thumbekins, which will be very effectuall to the purpose and intent forsaid, doe ordaine that when any persone shall be (by ther order) put to the torture, that the said thumbekins, or bootes, or both, be applyed to them.'

<sup>2</sup> Minister at Scoonie, Fifeshire. He was deprived at the Restoration, but continued to preach in private until the Revolution.

<sup>3</sup> Barley.

John Crockat. My brother William went to Innergellie last night.

23d.—Andrew Stirk came to Torrie this night. William Paton was here, Miss Mag. Erskine and Esther Shaw came here also.

24th.—I heard Mr. Th——. Hosea 2. 6.

25th.—I went to Culross with Miss Mag. Lumsden. I did see my Lord Kincardine and his mother, who were come home this week from Holland.

26th.—William Sythrum came here. I was now writing my stile book, and whiles reading some law book : this I designed for a while, together with some humanity and philosophy.

27th.—My Lord and Lady Kincardine were at Torrie.

28th.—Yesterday — Nicoll,<sup>1</sup> who was apprehended the 15th instant, at the last execution, for uttering some reflecting expressions anent the three men, and crying to the hangman (who was handling some of the men roughly)—If I had you, sir, you should be put from that,—or some such expression, he had been formerly somewhat too rash in his expressions and carriage, was yesterday executed at Edinburgh. —<sup>2</sup> was also executed, having on — last, escaped out of the Cannongate Tolbooth with other ten, he only being apprehended.

29th.—I went to Culross with my Lady and was a while with my Lord Kincardine, Mr. Williamson, curate of Tulliallan, and Mr. James Kirkwood being with him. They reflected on the Presbyterians for their severity in excommunication. I told them if it were now observed and put in execution according to the rule of the Word, and degrees of it, there would be less profanity and atheism in Scotland. I was also in William Adams and John Crockats.

30th.—David Russell came here, who was lately come from Holland, tho' he had fled to it last year because of the troubles in Scotland, not being able as he said to live at Rotterdam, where he stayed, because of scarcity of work and dearth of necessaries.

31st.—I heard Mr. Tho. —. Hosea 2. 6, and Mr. Jo. —. Cant. 3. 1.

<sup>1</sup> James Nicol, merchant in Peebles.

<sup>2</sup> William Young, in Evandale.

(SEPTEMBER 1<sup>st</sup>, 1684, Monday.)—I went this day to Bruce of Blackhalls with my Lady, and was also with John Callender, and in the Blair.

2d.—I stayed at home this day, and was now reading and collecting some things out of Stair's *Institutions*. Yesterday Mr. Robb went away.

3d.—I was little out, unless in the park with William Sythrum.

4th.—My Lord Kincardine was in Torrie, and my brother William came home.

5th.—On Tuesday last, the Bishop of St. Andrews, Burnet, was buried. He died, I think, on Friday last, at St. Andrews, where he was buried.

Seeing bishops were now in fashion, people were better content to have him than another, expecting to get no better but rather worse next, for he being now old and loving ease (and it may be fearing his predecessor's doom) was somewhat sober, and not so preposterous in his actings as others were.

6th.—I stayed within.

7th.—I heard Mr. Jo. ——. Cant. 3. 1.

8th.—We ended putting in our corns. David Erskine, once my brother's servant, came to Torrie.

9th.—My Lord Kincardine and his good brother Ochiltree<sup>1</sup> were at Torrie.

10th.—I went a hunting towards Carnock, with David Erskine.

11th.—I was a while with John Gibbon, who stayed in his sister's house without the gate, and exercised whiles in our family.

12th.—I came from Torrie about midday with my Lady, and was at Edinburgh after five. By the way as I came to the town I perceived they were far behind others in their harvest, not having much led, and some to shear; whereas on the other side, betwixt Torrie and the ferry, there was little or none to lead.

This day eight days the thumbekins were put upon Mr. William Carstairs, and keeped on him about an hour and a

<sup>1</sup> Lady Mary Bruce, eldest sister of Alexander, third Earl of Kincardine, was married to William Cochrane of Ochiltree.

half, his hands being behind his back, but at that time he confessed nor discovered nothing, tho' its said, that this week, on Tuesday or Wednesday, he discovered many things. Yesterday, about two in the morning, Sir John Dalrymple<sup>1</sup> was brought from his house at Newlistoun by about 60 musketeers and some horse; and this day, Murray of Philiphaugh<sup>2</sup> was brought in prisoner.

Sir John Dalrymple was brought up streets with a soldier at every arm, and committed close prisoner, with a sentry at his door. Its said their taking was occasioned by the discovery made by some of the prisoners.

13th.—This afternoon I did see the Earl of Tarras<sup>3</sup> brought in prisoner to the Abbay, by a party of Meldrum's<sup>4</sup> Guard, he riding on Meldrum's right hand, with sword and pistols. He was carried from that in a coach to the Council house, where there did a committee meet; but he was not called before them tho' he waited above an hour; from that he was sent to the Castle. I was a while with Sir William Preston, and also seeing Lathallan, and at night with Walter Gibson.

14th.—I heard no preaching.

15th.—This day, Scott of Gallowshiells was brought in prisoner, and he being before the committee, the boots were brought, but he was not put in them.

The Laird of Park, Hay, was apprehended when at his dinner, and put in the Tolbooth. It was said that Philiphaugh having pen ink and paper allowed him, did in writing discover what he knew, but whether there was anything or what it was that was discovered was not known, because the persons themselves (as they told some of their friends), and also the junto or secret committee who examin'd them, were under an oath of secrecy, and would discover nothing.

16th.—The Council, or rather the secret committee (for the Council did or knew little of business but as things were

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Earl of Stair.

<sup>2</sup> James Murray of Philiphaugh. He and Sir John Dalrymple were seized on suspicion of complicity in the Ryehouse plot. Murray had a remission in order that he might give evidence against Jerviswood and others.

<sup>3</sup> Walter Scott, younger of Highchester, created Earl of Tarras on his marriage with Mary, Countess of Buccleuch. The title was for his lifetime only.

<sup>4</sup> Adam Urquhart of Meldrum.

enjoined and discovered to them by the secret committee), were so busy and sat so close that the chancellour, Treasurer, etc., dined in Hew Blair's, and went not to the Abbay. Afternoon I went to Leith with Kinkell,<sup>1</sup> and Pitlour<sup>2</sup> his good-brother ; and as we were on our way back, some people we met told us the Ports of Edinburgh were all shut, and bid us expect no entry, but stay at Leith all night. Upon this Kinkell and Kinrie, who had come from Fife, went to a house by the way, where they stayed all night ; yet I went forward to the Netherbow port, and finding there many people about the port who had not got entry, I went to Alexander Logan's, gunsmith in Leith Wynd, who told me of their setting many sentrys upon the town walls, and that some of the town's people who had been gathered had been dismissed, least they should have been too favourable in the search which was designed now. Before I went out of town, the drums were beat for a company's meeting, and the pretence was for fear of an insurrection, so close and subtilely did they deal and keep up their designs.

I went to the Abbay and stayed with Valleyfield all night, and about —— companys of the forces, which were in the Cannongate and Leith, were taken into the town, and charged their guns with ball. Several false pretences were made for their meeting also : tho' all this great business was made of bringing in soldiers yet there was no general, but a particular search of some houses, which might have been done without bringing in soldiers within the town. They apprehended John Johnstoun, John Melvill, Robert Chiesley, James Hamilton, and Henry Anderson.

17th.—The Chancellour went for Drummond early this morning. I was with Alexander and Charles Preston and with Lathallan.

18th.—I was reading an offensive and contemning pamphlet against the Scots and their Historians, entitled—An historical account of church government as it was in Great Britain and Ireland when they first received the Protestant religion, by William Loyd, Bishop of St. Asaph. Several of the prisoners

<sup>1</sup> This probably refers to Kinkell in Fifeshire, which belonged to the family of Monipenny, and later to Hamilton.

<sup>2</sup> In 1675, Henry Pitcairn succeeded his brother William in Pitlour, Fifeshire.

who had been apprehended in the search, were before this dismissed, without being examined or giving any obligation, as Patrick Thomson, etc.; others gave bond to compear when called, as John Melvill and James Hamilton.

19th.—This day Cesnock, elder and younger, were taken from the Tolbooth, with Mr. John Rae, to the Bass. Cesnock was allowed the benefit of a coach, but neither his son or Mr. Rae were permitted to be in it with him, neither would they permitt his son to ride upon a fine horse that was provided for him.

Commissary Monro was taken to Stirling Castle, Newton Weir to Dumbrition Castle, Hay of Park, Earlston and Ard-kinlass, to Blackness Castle.

20th.—The Treasurer went out of town, having a considerable convoy. He was to be at one of the committees who were to sit in the south and west shires on Thursday, viz. Glasgow, Air, Dumfries, and Jedburgh. They had the power of the Justiciary as well as of the Council (by a particular commission from the King), and so of forfeiture, fining, banishing, and other arbitrary punishments.

I was with Mr. James Webster,<sup>1</sup> and with Sir Alexander Hope of Kerse, who was lately come from Holland.

21st.—I heard no preaching. People were so far from getting preaching in private that they hardly staid in their own houses, fearing a search, but went to the fields.

22d.—I was a while with Will Row, and afternoon with Lathallan and Kinkell.

23d.—I was in the fields with Mr. Andrew Bowie and Mr. James Webster.

24th.—I went through much of the town with Alexander Preston, looking at houses in order to our taking of one.

This week Hamilton<sup>2</sup> of Aikenhead was brought in prisoner to Edinburgh.

25th.—This forenoon Mr. John Gibbon and Kinkell were with my Lady. Afternoon I came with my Lady to the

<sup>1</sup> After the Revolution he was minister at Edinburgh.

<sup>2</sup> James Hamilton. Since 1664 he had been several times imprisoned for nonconformity.

Queensferry, and then crossed to the north side and staid all night in John Gibbon's.

26th.—We came from the ferry and stayed some hours at Broomhall, and a while at Pitliver, and then came home. I was now sometimes trysted with the hearing of doubts proposed, and getting those and others of my own answered at other times, occasionally, and with an outgate and solution of some things relative to my own presently designed practice. This I reckoned to be my mercy and the goodness of God, who together with his trysting and trying me with these difficulties, did give an answer, and clear me as to some, and kept me from the snare of others. I desire the Lord would help me to acknowledge and depend on him by seeking his direction, and in every thing I shall design, undertake or do, I pray that his council may be with me, and I helped to follow it.

27th.—I was a while in the park with David Erskine. William Sythrum was also in Torrie.

28th.—This day the Lord seem'd to withdraw his presence from me in going about duty, so as I could not win to that tenderness and affection which is desirable; yea I could have been content to have undergone anything, that the Lord would have broken in upon my hard and stubborn heart, by making it yield to him, and melt at His approach; this was my desire. O but it be sad and griveous to bear, to have the Lord hiding his face, and withdrawing his presence; it is indeed much, yea a good mark, to be sensible of the Lord's retiring from us, for then we miss what formerly we had, and yet I dare adventure to it without vanity, but to the everlasting praise of my blessed Lord, I do now know best what it is to want His presence at other times when He is beginning to approach and revive my Spirit with His lively grace.

29th.—William Sythrum went north, and David Erskine to Blackness. Lady Arniston<sup>1</sup> came here and stayed all night.

Several persons were summoned out of this parish to go to Kirkaldy on Friday; they were to give up upon oath all

<sup>1</sup> Sir James Dundas of Arniston married, as his third wife, Helen, daughter of Sir James Skene, President of the College of Justice, and widow of Sir Charles Erskine of Alva.

delinquents for church affairs, etc., in order to a court's sitting at Coupar, for taking order with those things.

30th.—Broomhall came, and went away with his mother. The Lady Arnistoun, Bamblea, and Blackhall dined here, and James Morice, a factor in Rotterdam. He was dispatching away and had letters to Charles, in order to his being bound to a merchant at Rotterdam, for a year or less.

OCTOBER 1st, 1684, Wednesday.—I stayed at home. Temptations were frequently assaulting and making attempts upon me, and alas did too often prevail, being readily welcomed by corrupt nature, which had truely need of the restraining power of God's Spirit to hedge it in from utterly ruining an unworthy and secure soul. I am low and forsaken, but not as I deserve, yet, good Lord, let not those continue.

2d.—This morning, in my ordinary reading through the Old Testament, I read the 18th chapter of Exodus, where I found in Jethro's advice to Moses, ver. 21, 22, the qualifications requisite in a judge, viz., that they be able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness, etc., which advice Moses hearkened to, ver. 24, 25, but now, in the chusing and placing of magistrates, these things are not looked after, neither can I see these excellent qualifications aimed at by any who are judges. I wish the Lord may help me to seek after and perfect me with these qualifications, whether it be in the capacity of administration or making a way for, and promoting of Justice, or in whatever capacity I may obtain them.

I stayed at home reading.

3d.—My Lord Kincardine was in Torrie. I went to Culross with my Lady to see old David Mitchell, who was much failed every way.

4th.—Lord Kincardine was in Torrie. Mr. Anderson came here also.

5th.—I heard Mr. Robert—, Psalm 42. 5.

6th.—I stayed at home with Mr. Anderson. David Barclay was here. William Sythrum came here, who was inquired after very strictly by the Shirriff Depute at Kirkaldy, on Friday last, at those persons who were called out of this and several other parishes.

7th.—Yesternight there were soldiers at Cliesh, searching for my Lady Colvill, and also for my Lord (whom she keeped with her, and would not give up to his Episcopal friends to be bred), but found them not; took away Mrs. Martin and Will. Jack, servants.

8th.—My Lady went to Culross and stayed there all night. William Sythrum went away. I went to Torrieburn with him, and was in William Hutton's.

9th.—I went to Borrowstouness with my Lord Colvill, who was about 15 years old, and with Mr. Robert Anderson. We walked towards Kinneil, one of Duke Hamilton's houses; we returned that same tide.

10th.—Peoples malice was now come to a great height against the small handfull that went not to church, so as Will. Harrowar in Torryburn, his near neighbours alledged he would be permitted to stay among them till he burnt the town, and said hanging was too little for him; tho he was both a private and peaceable man with his neighbours, yet they could hardly endure to see him, because he went not their length in rioting and sin. Alas, shall this endure? That which David says, Psalm 12. 8, The wicked walk on every side when the vilest men are exalted, is now made out.

11th.—Stenop Murray, who married Lady Anne Bruce, Babachly<sup>1</sup> and Kennet Bruce,<sup>2</sup> were at Torrie, and went to the ferry, Earl of Kincardine and my brother William being with them. I stayed at home.

12th.—I heard no preaching.

13th.—I was in the Valleyfield with my mother. Mr. Anderson came to Torrie.

14th.—I stayed at home with Mr. Anderson.

15th.—Mr. John Gibbon was with us, and gave an account of the strictness that was begun at Edinburgh the last week, by placing guards at every Port, who challenged and kept all those prisoners whom they suspected as having fled from these parts in the south and west where the courts were now sitting, and other parts for shelter; they did carry many to the Guard.

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Cochrane of Barbachlaw, Linlithgowshire.

<sup>2</sup> David Bruce of Kennet.

Mr. Anderson went away. We got advertisement that soldiers were coming to this country.

16th.—This morning early, William Hutton was taken out of his house. He was out of it a great part of the night, and returned only a little before the soldiers came to his house, who were about 16 footmen. They took several things out of his house, as sheets, etc.

The Lady Valleyfield and her sons were in Torrie. I came to Culross with my Lady and stayed in David Mitchell's, fearing trouble in Torrie.

17th.—We had now notice that publick affairs were going at Glasgow as the Lords of the court sitting there desired them, and that many of the gentlemen had given bond to keep the church and all the ordinances for themselves, and for their wives, children, servants, tennants and cottars, and further to strengthen the King's authority for executing the laws, they freely offered six months cess, beside what is allowed by act of Parliament, to be paid in two years, and that for raising and mentaining a troop of horse, which likeways being done by the other circuits, there are four troops of horse to be newly levied.

The indulged ministers by these circuits were wholly removed from their charges. At these courts they press people with great strictness and violence to take oaths, so that this week Glasgow prisons were so thronged with gentlemen, women, and others, there being as I heard 160, that the court there, not knowing how next they should dispose of them, sent to the Chancellour to be resolved. They banished many, both men and women, to the American Plantations, and forfault others. They have now gone a step further in strictness, as not to accept of going to church as a sufficient complyance with and acknowledgement of the present Government and authority, without confirming that their practice with an oath, which with other temptations and snares following one after another upon these, I would gladly shun by being out of the way of them.

18th.—I was at John Crockat's wife's burial, at the West Kirk of Culross, and was a while with Balgownie in his own house.

19th.—I heard Mr. Robert——, Psalm 63. 1, 2.

20th.—I was seeing John Crockat, and then went to Torrie with my Lady.

William Hutton, who was apprehended the last week, being liberate at Mr. Aird's desire, went to church yesterday, tho I know with great reluctance, but could see no way to mentain himself and family.

21st.—I stayed at home. Friday last, Mr. Airds wrote to my Lady desiring her to come to church the next Sabbath, least before the Sabbath after he should be out of a capacity to serve her, being as appeared by his letter to give up all delinquents upon oath.

22d.—I came from Torrie this morning, and was at Stirling after twelve, where I stayed a little, having met with Thomas Bruce of Blackhall, and Sands; after that I came to Boquhan, where I stayed all night.

23d.—I understood by Boquhan that at Glasgow, all the gentlemen of Stirlingshire, scarcely one excepted, had taken the test and bond, which obliged them for their wives, etc., as above, being bound to go to church every Sabbath, and to take the communion, unless they gave a reasonable excuse; and those that went but seldom to church (being called Seldomers) were summoned to these courts as delinquents. Those that went not at all were apprehended, four or five women being taken from Kippen to Glasgow prison. Now many who seemed to be truely serious, and who had baptised with Presbyterian ministers, had taken the test and complied otherways formerly. By this I may see that people, before they take up a profession of religion, ought to lay a good foundation, and build upon the right, and have no sinister ends, and lay their account with the worst that can befall them in a world, least they ruin their own souls, and become a reproach to religion, which is now easily won at and laid hold on by too many, and as easily quit again by them.

I came from Boquhan to Cardross; my good-sister and her children were there.

I did see Gartur and his brother Robert.

24th.—John Knox was here, and very unwell, and his company was edifying and upstirring to the duties and exercise of godliness, commanding much a person's doubting

of their true state, telling he that never doubted never believed.

25th.—I went to Gartur.

26th.—I heard no sermon, but staid at home and read much of the books of Sts. Mark and John to John Knox, who did whiles explain and apply spiritually what was read, and did reprove sin and warn hypocrites and formall professors, and encourage to a serious and earnest following after duty, and seeking from and coming to Christ, that they might receive him and be accepted of Him. He regretted peoples' unconcerndness at hearing the name of God taken in vain, which is too much in use by beggars, etc., and that His worship was too much shifted off from time to time, yea slighted and disturbed by professors; and we may now see it frequently scoffed at and mocked by others.

27th.—I went to Gartur with David, my brother's eldest son, and from that with Gartur to the Isle of Menteath, where we did see the Earl of Menteath. In returning, we stayed a while at Gartur, and then came home.

28th.—I was in James Sommerville's, in the Duke's Head, dispatching William M'Kinlay, messenger, to give my Lord Menteath a charge of horning for £20,000. This day eight days the circuit went to Peebles.

29th.—I went out to speak to Gartur, who had sent for me, and was going to Menteath.

30th.—Robert Graham was in Cardross. I staid at home, and did now whiles read on Stair's *Institutions*.

31st.—James Graham, Gartur's son, came to Cardross. I went with him toward the Mill of Cardross, to the gunning, and then to Gartur, where I stayed all night. I observed several people walking and standing upon a hill, and could not presently understand the reason of it, but a little after I found they were following a superstitious custom which some people in this place had, of agreeing marriages on that hill, as it were a concluded and sure bargain when it came the length to be treated of there. This night I observed more freets and devilish customs they practice on Hallow even, as going to a south-running well, and dipping their arm or sleeve in it, and the say, if after that, they speak not till they sleep, they will

dream of the person they will marry—and others not worthy to be named, and far less practiced, in a nation professing Christianity ; yea, they gave examples of their proving true to make good their authority : they did put on fires in many parts of the country, all which did terrify me, fearing that the devil might adventure too far where he was so much followed, yet tho I was wicked and sinfull the Lord was good to me.

(NOVEMBER 1st, Saturday 1684.)—I came, afternoon, with John Graham a part of the way by the water side, and then came home.

2d.—I read to John Knox in the Psalms and Proverbs. I heard no preaching.

3d.—I was a while with Gartur.

4th.—This day Menteath of Millhall, and his son, were here, and agreed a business anent the lands of Lochend.

5th.—I was reading on Stairs', and writing. Sin coming on forwardly and suddenly, I was many ways put to a stand and troubled, but I thought my heart was not affected and humbled as it should be, the very thought of both which, being reflected on, may be burthensome to a true penitent.

6th.—Gartur was in Cardross, and I was writing several things concerning Cardross, Carden, and Straithgairtney, and the rentals of them.

7th.—John Bryce came here and stayed all night. I stayed at home all day.

8th.—I understood, by a letter some days after I came here, that my mother and others in the family, and all her children, were put up by the Sheriff Depute as delinquents, except William, tho others had gone to church, and that there was no speaking to him for favour, he swearing it was not in his power to do it to any person.

John Knox continued very sick.

9th.—I stayed at home and read several times to John Knox.

10th.—I was writing several things. James Graham, Gartur's son, was here.

The members of the Circuit Courts were now gone in to Edinburgh. Some in Perthshire did reflect on Stirlingshire gentlemen, and others, who had condescended to give the cess

and other things at the circuits, alledging they might have done with their consciences what they pleased, but should not have been an ill preparative to their purses in giving the cess, which they were not resolved to do.

11th.—Boquhan was in Cardross. Some days before this there was many fewars, etc., brought from Glasgow to Stirling prison.

12th.—I staid at home, and was whiles with John Knox.

13th.—I was in Robert Graham's, afternoon. On Saturday was eight days, the Lords who kept the circuit court at Glasgow went from that place. That same night there was a very great wind which occasioned much trouble to Barks, etc., that were near the shore.

14th.—I was a while with Robert Graham. Now there was frost, and there had been snow this last night.

15th.—Gartur came to Cardross; I went to Gartur with him, and after staying some time there I came home.

16th.—I had a letter this day from my dear mother, whereby I understood that the Shirreff of Fife had fined her in 4000 merks for not going to church, and that she was threatned, if she went not now her going afterward would not free her, without she gave bond and paying her fine, etc., tho I think its probable if once they had people that length, and altho all persons should condescend to go to church, yet they would require them to go one step further, as by giving bond to keep all the ordinances, and go forenoon and afternoon, which they did exact at the last circuits in several parts of the country; and if they were altering anything of the established form and manner of worship they might require complyance with that too. People ought neither to trust themselves, or be confident that they will not go a step further after that, nor yet those that now press their complyance as if they would stop there, if they saw it otherways convenient for their designs, who are but broken reeds to trust in. I being naturally not confident, yea sometimes much to the contrary, so as I would not adventure to speak even when I was confirmed in the truth of what I would have said, yea and resolved how to say,—this put me to a stand, least being called before rulers I should fail one way or other, by being too rash or too remiss; but I ought

not to be troubled for that, if I consider that God who gives wisdom to those that ask it of him, will, if I be His, and have a right to the priviledges of His sons, give what is needfull for me, and make all things work together for my good. I staid at home.

17th.—Being invited by Robert Graham, I dined with him in James Sommerville's, where Walter Graham in Cardross, who was married yesterday, had his penny wedding.

On Friday was a fortnight, being the day before the members of the Court at Glasgow rose and went for Edinburgh, —— Lawson, and —— Wood were executed at Glasgow. They confessed that they had been at Bothwell Bridge, and said it was no rebellion, neither did they own the King.

Duke Hamilton, the Laird of Lundin, now conjunct Secretary of State for Scotland (with the Earl of Murray in the Earl of Middletoun's place), and who had been formerly Treasurer Depute, and my Lord Collingtoun, Justice Clerk, were members of the Court at Glasgow. Lundin, the Secretary, took most upon him, and carried things in a manner without controul, the other two acting very little.

18th.—I went through the moss to Menteath, and did see Mr. Forrester, and also Napaeir of Boquhaple, and returned at night.

19th.—The persons, in all being about 36, who were brought prisoners from Glasgow to Stirling, were for most part lairds and fewars about Glasgow and Renfrew, except about twelve persons. They were imprisoned for not taking the test.

This day I was not well, which I thought was occasioned by an easterly wind, and the wetness of the moss as I went to Boquhaple yesterday, so as I was almost unable to read.

20th.—Gartur was here, and the Lairds of Easter and Wester Poldar.<sup>1</sup>

On Wednesday was eight days, the young Laird of Polwarth was put in Edinburgh Castle, it seems because they had been seeking his father and could not get him; and Clowburn, with many others, were put in Edinburgh Tolbooth that same day;

<sup>1</sup> These lairds were James Forrester and Harrie Dow.

and the day before the Earl of Loudon and Lord Melvill<sup>1</sup> were denounced for not compearing, tho they did get favour and were delayed formerly.

21st.—The Laird of Meldrum, who was Captain of a troop of horse, and a cruel oppressor of the Presbyterians and poor people in the south and west shires, died suddenly on —— was eight days, having been about two hours before his death in a publick inn.

22d.—I had now stayed at home for several days, and was sometimes reading Latin authors. I understood by a letter that my name was in the Sherriff of Fife's rolls, but that there was some expectation to get it put out.

23d.—I heard no preaching.

24th.—This day there was a court keeped in the house by Gartur, who was Baron Baillie.<sup>2</sup>

I was writing some things to my Lady. The last week seven making their escape out of Stirling prison, one was apprehended, and six went away, the rest being strictly used on their accounts.

25th.—I was in my brother's closet looking over his books.

On Wednesday last, Stewart and Kennoway,<sup>3</sup> two of the King's guard of horse, were cruelly murthered in the night time, within a few miles of Linlithgow. Any such deed now done was casten upon those people whose principles (if I may call it so) led them to disown the King's authority, and all the present magistrates, yea, and to declare themselves open enemies to all such who were concerned in the management of church or state affairs, and to all the King's soldiers, so as they thought it lawfull to take all advantages against them;<sup>4</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> These two nobles were now in Holland.

<sup>2</sup> Bailie of the Barony of Cardross.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Kennoway acted as deputy to Urquhart of Meldrum, and exceeded his master in severity (Wodrow).

<sup>4</sup> On 28th October 1684 the society people, as they were called, had emitted their Apologetical Declaration and Admonitory Vindication, warning informers against them of their resolution to punish them. There is no evidence that this was in any instance carried into effect, or that they had any hand in the death of the two soldiers. Their party however were blamed for it, and the persecution of all nonconformists was therefore greatly intensified. The Privy Council, on 23d November, enacted that military execution should be carried out in the

because of them, all the Presbyterians were reflected on, they owning themselves to be such, and yet there was not one Presbyterian minister in Scotland who owned them, but on the contrary, disowned both their principles and practices ; yea, those people did some years ago disown all other Presbyterians or others whosoever, who did not in every point adhere to their ridiculous principles ; they falsely terming themselves the only true Presbyterians in Scotland ; neither is there one gentleman or person of interest, quality or parts, in Scotland, adhering to that small handfull of rusticks ; and now Earlstoun and Robert Hamilton (who were no overturners of state both for their policy or parts) who took upon them to head that party, were out of the way, the first being in Blackness Castle, and the other in Holland. I shall not say but some of these men were serious, and thought they were right, but, it seems, grossly ignorant ; and these who were serious among them were by degrees disowning and leaving that way, ever since their first appearance, which was within these few years ; so I see not how it can be rationally thought that these poor pitifull bodies would have been able to mount about 30 horsemen in good order, that being thought the number of these who were about the house when those two soldiers were murthered ; and it is the more strange that other cruelties of that nature were committed in several other places of the country about the same time. We did not as yet hear that any of them were apprehended.

26th.—On Friday last, three men, who were suspected of having a hand in or some knowledge of affixing a paper on several church doors and crosses on Sabbath was eight days, the nature of which was disowning the King and all in authority, etc. were condemned to die, and that afternoon were executed.<sup>1</sup> One owned the deed, but denied that he had any

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parishes of Livingston, Bathgate, Torphichen, and the three Calders, against all who failed to give satisfactory answers to their questions.

<sup>1</sup> In connection with these three victims the following minute occurs on 24 November :—‘The lords of privy council being informed that ther wer three coffines this day caryed doun the street, for these persones who wer this day ordered to be execute for treasonable crymes, etc., in order to ther being interred therein, and which were painted and cyphered with black, Doe hereby recommend to Sir William Paterson, clerk of council, to take all necessar enquiry anent the wright who made the said coffines, and painter of the same, and who employed them, and report.’

hand in it ; the other two refused to answer any thing to that question.

Some thought it was done by soldiers lately disbanded (others having got their places) that the country might be put in a stirr and so new levies made.

27th.—I was in my brother's closet, putting in order some books.

Gartur was in Cardross, and was telling us of some murthers committed upon some magistrates in the south, which with other things looked very terrible.<sup>1</sup>

28th.—This day, about one afternoon, John Knox died. I may say, for his understanding, zeal, and constancy in matters of religion, and for his care and diligence in mentaining the priviledges of Christ as to the government of the church by presbyters, in all its parts and degrees, against all enemies whatsoever, he succeeded to John Knox the Reformer. He had many encounters and debates with Papists in Ireland, and with sectaries, and other enemys of the church in England and Scotland, so as it was thought strange by those who knew him to see his understanding in controversys about religion and terms of art, having never been bred at schools and colleges with these things. He esteemed no worldly gain, and had as little of it when he died. He was generally both feared and loved.

29th.—Harry Dow and several other persons, having come to the house of Cardross where his corps lay, they were taken about the going away of day light to a boat, and by water the length of Harry Dow's where Greenyards,<sup>2</sup> Arngibbon,<sup>3</sup> and several others met us. The corps being carried from that to his brother William's, and then to the Kirk of Kippen, being laid in the burial place of Knox of Rampharly ; then having been with Dasher (who pressed me to stay all night with him, but I would not, the Sabbath being near) and Greenyards, I came away with H. Dow and several other Cardross men, and

<sup>1</sup> These were probably mere rumours, as the registers contain no notice of the alleged outrages.

<sup>2</sup> William Livingston of Greenyards was served heir to Robert Livingston his grandfather on 21 January 1685.

<sup>3</sup> Duncan Forrester of Arngibbon.

was at home about midnight. To this John Knox I was more obliged then I can well tell, what by his instructing, reproving, and advising me, as he found occasion, both by word and writt, he having confirmed these with his own example, which I may note afterwards as I find occasion, and (if of any person) I may be positive that he through faith and patience has inherited the promises, and so may be imitated, yet we ought not upon any account to be of implicate faith by believing as persons or churches do.

30th.—I stayed at home all day and heard no preaching.

(DECEMBER 1<sup>st</sup>, Monday, 1684.)—Harry Dow of Poldar was in Cardross. He told me that all persons who were under bond to compear when called were now to be called.

2d.—The fears people were now in because of the cruelties committed in several parts of the country, by men whose persons and designs were unknown and feared, made them shut their gates sooner then ordinary, not knowing and doubting against whom and what way those might turn. I stay'd at home all day.

3d.—James Graham, Gartur's son, was a while in Cardross.

There was now a new Parliament called to meet the 10th day of March 1685, tho the adjourning of the former one had been from time to time continued.

4th.—I staid at home reading different subjects, yet little of any, waiting still that I should be advertised to come to Edinburgh, if there was any abiding there without hazard.

5th.—I did now find that even when, to my thought, I was in a frame more circumspect against sin than at other times, yet sin was not so borne down and banished as not whiles to break out and appear, and if thus it appear at such a time, how sad shall my case be when Satan gets any footing: this should put me to a diligent search after unknown and lurking sins, that they may be destroyed and put away, and to keep a strict watch over my heart that others succeed not.

6th.—I ended the reading of a book called—‘ Animadversions upon a book intitled Fanaticism, imputed to the Catholick church fanatically by D. Stillingfleet, and the imputation refuted by S. C., by a Person of Honour,’—wherein I thought

he inclined to make the church government depend too much upon the civil magistrate, and had several other things which I thought not sound ; and also some papers anent the Union of Scotland and England, by Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam. John M'Vicker brought a horse for me.

7th.—I staid at home and read over David Dick's treatise anent Christian comfort, and true Christian love.

8th.—I went to Gartur, but missing him, stay'd not.

9th.—This morning about day light I took horse at Cardross with my brother's son David, and having come to Boquhan, we staid upon the Laird about an hour, having gone near Stirling in one company, he having gone for Edinburgh.

We staid next a while at Tillibody Bridge, and then came to Torrie.

10th.—I went to the Park with my nephew, James Preston, and David Goudie, and also to the Valleyfield.

11th.—John Crockat was at Torrie. I went to the Blair, and was at Culross, and did see William Adam, and William Burn, and was in David Mitchell's.

In the beginning of the last month there came in a great abundance of fishes, some longer than herrings, but not so broad, having a neb out from their head about two inches long. They were got in greatest abundance on the north shore, about Culross, and Torrie people carried them away by horse loads.

It was a strong north wind when they came in ; they did leap out of the water to the land, people catching them with their hands at the edge of the water. When the sea was out multitudes of them were found dead upon the shoar, with their nebs sticking in the sand. People did eat them, and some salted of them ; some said their coming was ominous, telling that they had come in immediately before Pentland.

12th.—I staid at home. Mrs. Magdalene Erskine, Balgounie's aunt, came to Torrie, William Paton, and William Hutton were in it.

13th.—I went for Edinburgh with George Erskine, Balgounie's brother ; being somewhat delayed in getting passage, and so casten late, we stayed in John Galloway's in the Queensferry all night.

14th.—This morning, thinking I might more conveniently

stay at Edinburgh than where I was, on the Lord's day, we came to Edinburgh before the preaching, and found no stop in our way.

I heard Mr. J. M.—‘Let not your hearts be troubled, ye believe in God,’ etc. There was now frequent searches in Edinburgh, the common soldiers taking oaths of people, and making them swear to any questions they proposed, as whether or not they owned the government and laws, as they were now established, and if the Duke of York was not lawfull successor to the Crown, and others. Upon people's refusing to answer, or not satisfying them, they were taken to the guard.

15th.—I now found that the current Parliament was only adjourned untill the 10th March 1685, with a more positive certification than ordinary that it would then sit.

I was a while with the Earl of Marr at night.

16th.—I staid at home this day.

My Lord Kincardine was seeing my Lady, and also Mr. Jo —, his son being now at London.

Yesterday I was seeing Mrs. Langlands, and delivered her what her son-in-law had given and desired.

17th.—There was now great strictness at the Queensferry and other passages, Drumlanerk's troops having gone to Queensferry on Sabbath day : No person being let free without a pass or giving a distinct account of himself, and from whence he came, and whither he was going. I may take it as a good providence that I was over before that strictness came, and ought to improve it. I went now little to the streets.

18th.—I was a while with my Lord Colvill. His mother was in Edinburgh Tolbooth, and very hardly used, she being blamed for her son's not going to the Kirk College, etc. She was fined for her own withdrawing from the church in 5000 merks, and arrested in the tolbooth for her fine.

I was in Patrick Steel's with Robert Colvill, getting a part of the annual rent due out of Menteath's estate, from James Rollo. Pitlever was with us.

19th.—My brother William went out of the town with the Earl of Marr. I was with Mr. Patrick Crighton. I got a pass from the magistrates of Edinburgh with the town seal at it. Adam Mastertoun of Grainge waited upon the getting of it.

20th.—I was with James Stewart, Culness' son. Afternoon I went to the town Tolbooth with—

I did see Clowburn and my Lady Colvill. There were eleven indulged ministers in one room.

21st.—I heard Mr. George , 1st Peter 3. 18: For Christ also hath once suffered for sin, etc.

I was in my aunt's at night.

22d.—This day Mr. Robert Baillie of Jerriswood was indicted of high treason, as guilty of a plot, and particularly as having designed to raise rebellion by killing the King, and overturning the government, and consulted and joined with the English in the said design, and anent diverting the true line of succession to the crown by secluding the Duke of York his Majesty's brother, etc. The last week the Earl of Tarras was indicted as being guilty of the said plot and contrivance, to answer the 5th of January next. Jerriswood was to answer next day.

I was in Mr. Patrick Crighton's at night: Alexander Inglis was there.

23d.—This afternoon Jerriswood was brought before the Justiciary, all the Lords being present.

The Earl of Linlithgow being Justice-General, Sir George Lockhart and Sir John Lauther, advocates, were joined to the King's Advocate, Sir George M'Kenzie, against the pannell, who had for him Sir Patrick Hume, Mr. Walter Pringle, Mr. William Fletcher, Mr. James Graham, Mr. William Baillie. There was but little debate, however, any defence proponed by them was rejected, then the witnesses were called, viz. :—

1st. The Earl of Tarras: it was objected against him that he being indicted on the same crime, and so *socius criminis*, and so a person that could not be admitted, yet he was received, and deponed, tho his wife was the pannel's niece. Commissary Monro, Philliphaugh, and Gallowshiel, were also witnesses: all objections against them were repelled. Mr. William Carstairs his printed depositions were read, the King's Advocate craved they might be admitted as probation against the pannell, but they were only sustained as an adminicile: they deponed many things importing a design to rise in arms, for reforming many things in the government and governours,

but they agreed not exactly in particulars against the pannell. I stayed till the dismissing of the court and closing up of the assize, being near twelve at night. The pannell said, or he had been guilty of such things against his Majesty he would have been burnt quick, and said he loved the King as well as any in the three kingdoms, and could yet spend his heart's blood for him. He told the advocate how he had said to him lately that he was now convinced of his innocence. The advocate answered,—I said I thought you was indeed innocent of any design against the King. The pannell was led from the Tolbooth to the house in his night gown, and stayed in the court about ten hours, being yet weak by reason of a long and dangerous sickness whereof he was not yet recovered.

24th.—This forenoon Jerriswood got his sentence to be taken to the cross afternoon, and there first to be hanged, next his head to be struck off, and then quartered: His head to be affixed on the Netherbow port, his quarters to be set up at Glasgow and other parts. The sentence was accordingly put in execution in the afternoon, his body being quartered upon the scaffold, where he said—I wish the shedding of my blood may engage all persons hearts to the true reformed Protestant Religion: says Trotter, a curate, and to the King too, Sir? Yes, says he, and why not Sir, I wish that God would bless him and save him, and I take God to witness, before whom I am to answer, that I am free of the aspersions cast upon me anent him, and I declare I never entertained any rebellious principle in my bosom against him or his authority, nor did I ever design any alteration in the government but such as was decent and orderly.

25th.—One Drummond was consecrated Bishop of B<sup>1</sup>—, and Ross, Bishop of Glasgow, translated to St. Andrews, and Cairncroft,<sup>2</sup> Bishop of Brichen, translated to Glasgow. It was solemnly done in the Abbey Church, the Bishop of Edinburgh performed the ceremony, being chief actor; they made use of the service book. I went not out till night, and was in Mr. Patrick Crighton's.

26th.—The consecrated and translated bishops had yesterday

<sup>1</sup> James Drummond, minister at Muthill, was made bishop of Brechin.

<sup>2</sup> *Sic* for Cairncross.

a sumptuous feast, and had at it the officers of State, and many noblemen, the Lords of Session and Magistrates of the city, with not a few clergymen, there being many now in town who had come in from the country for fear of trouble from those people who were (as was said) troubling some of that sort.

I dined with Mr. William Monypenny in my aunt's, and was at night in the Tolbooth seeing my Lady Colvill, and was with William Sythrum.

27th.—I stayed within all this day and was writing. Yesterday my Lord Collingtoun, with Sir William Paterson and a guard, came to Jerriswood's Lady, and caused her, by their severe threatenings (to take her presently to prison and also her husband's friends) to give up that paper which her husband had left behind him as a testimony at his death: it was the principal they got up.

28th.—I staid within all day, and heard no preaching.

29th.—I went not out this day either, but was reading on Cartes' *Principles*, and writing.

30th.—I was forenoon with David Arnot, at night a while in Bannockburn's writing chamber, and in William Livingston's shop, with severalls.

31st.—Yesternight my Mother did challenge me for being too reserved and obscure in my humour and carriage to Her. I was indeed too much so with her, and tho it be nature, yet I ought to have withstood it, more especially in reference to her who was to me a too condescending mother, and whose practice both private and publick did frequently reprove me, but with far less success than was to be desired; and I wish her serious performing of duty may yet be a motive to engage me more to look after that way.

1st JANUARY 1685, Thursday.—I went little abroad this day. Mr. John Law was a while with my Lady.

Sir William Scott,<sup>1</sup> younger, fled within these few days by-gone, the party of soldiers sent to apprehend him, being disappointed by his escape. His crime talked of was his knowledge of what was now discovered by the Earl of Tarras, etc.

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<sup>1</sup> Of Harden.

2d.—I met with James Lumsden, my cousin, who was lately come from Holland. I was at night with Preston of that Ilk, and Alexander and Charles his brothers.

This week Scot of Thirleston was brought in prisoner.

3d.—This forenoon I was in the Session house hearing debates. I was afternoon with Mr. James and Mr. Patrick Sinclairs.

4th.—I stayed within all this day.

5th.—Walter, Earl of Tarras, was this day brought before the Justice Court. There was no debate, his former deposition against Jerriswood, which he still adhered to, being now made use of as a confession against himself, yet, notwithstanding, Phillipaugh and Gallowshiells were led witnesses against him. He acknowledged he was in the King's mercy, and that upon it he did now only rely and cast himself.

I was a while with Robert Currie and James Stewart and with Mr. Duncan M'Kerter.

6th.—The Earl of Tarras did this day get the sentence of death and forfeiture past upon him, the day of his death being referred to the King. He was but little lamented, having saved his own life by the taking away of Jerriswood's, having dealt basely in discovering Sir William Scot of Harden, younger, tho himself was the only man that ever spoke to Sir William of the affair.

7th.—This forenoon I came from Edinburgh, and afternoon I came to Torrie, having now a design in a week or two to go off the country with a design to study the laws; and beside, there were many things that might engage people to leave Scotland, and I knew few there who had any sense of its condition who were not desiring to be away, tho they did linger very much, few being determined what to do themselves or able to advise others, which was a sign of the Lord's departing, and that council and judgment was gone from his people. Now my desire is, if I mistake not my heart, not to be where the Lord's presence is not. Yea, many of the most serious and godly of the land were now taken away by violent deaths on scaffolds (which it seems is not at an end) or otherways, or then leaving the land, and many in prisons. There was little now that the rulers set themselves for, but what was effectuated.

I desire wherever I be that I may be keeped from sin, and helped to be humbled and repent in earnest for my own sins, and all the sins and abominations in the land, that the Lord may be pleased out of His abundant mercy to return again to Scotland. O that I may be keeped from sin wherever I be, and helped indeed to draw near to God, and that I may be keeped from doing any thing that may vex the Holy Spirit of God: now I desire to committ myself to the keeping of God wholly, without any reserve, and I hope I have done so, and that He will be with me a God of mercy and not of justice, tho my sins be many, and to Him I committ myself so as I may be perfected here, and for his glory, even as he has desired, and then brought in to him through Christ for ever.

8th.—I came from Torrie to Culross, and was in Esther Shaw's, and did see several other persons, and did design for Edinburgh this night with Patrick Bruce.

I came from Torrie (where I left my sisters and brother William) to Edinburgh with Patrick Bruce.

9th.—I was a while with Charles Preston in his mother's.

10th.—This morning, having got notice that there was a ship to sail from Leith for London, altho I was not resolved to go before the next week, having some things to do, yet not willing to miss the occasion, having seen my good-sister and some other friends, I went to Leith the forenoon with John Spence, and my mother having come to Leith afternoon, I took ship about five o'clock at night, in Captain James Law's ship called the Hopefull Mary of Leith, Robert Gray being present skipper, the ship having sailed the same time.

11th.—We were towards Berwick this day, and on Friday, the 16th instant, about the mouth of the river Thames, having lien at anchor sometime because it was dark. We lay one night at Yarmouth: on Sabbath the 18th we passed Chatham, Gravesend, and Tillbury fort, and lay at anchor in the river about five miles above Gravesend. The 19th about two o'clock in the morning, there being a wherry boat called for, I, with John Sinclair, son to the Laird of Dunbeath in Caithness, a passenger (who was designing to be a soldier) and other two, there being only four passengers in the ship, left the ship, least we should be tagled all day in her, and landed a little below

the bridge of London about nine in the morning. In the afternoon, one of the passengers who was with me, having met with one Mr. Allan, a Scotsman, he did take us to one Mrs. Kinneir's, a Scots house, in Crooked Lane, near the Monument, where we got lodgings.

20th.—I staid within this day, Mr. M'Aulay, a Scotsman, having been a while with me.

21st.—I dined with Mr. Robert Cunningham, my Lord Kennedy's Governor, who took me to a woolen drapers near St. Clements church, in the Strand, where I was to buy cloaths, Mr. John Law being with us.

22d.—I was with Robert Gray, whom I employed to make my cloaths. I dined with Mr. John Law.

23d.—I was in Lombard Street changing money. I dined with Mr. Frazer and Mr. M'Aulay.

24th.—I went along the bridge which consisted of — arches, a great part of it is built on each side with houses where they have shops, and so not to be known by other streets; they have a drawbridge on one of the arches.

25th.—I stayed within this day.

26th.—I was at Robert Gray's in Blackfriers, near St. Paul's church, who was making my cloaths.

27th.—I stayed within all day but when I was at dinner, and was reading *Christiana Theologia*, with a design to go through with it.

28th.—I dined with Mr. Robert Cunningham, and was a while in Mr. Jonathan Greenwood's shop, bookseller.

29th.—I dined with Mr. Allan, and was with him in Guildhall, at Christ's Hospital, at Smithfield, and other places.

I was with Mr. William Law at night, with whom I had been at Glasgow Colledge.

30th.—This day I came from Mrs. Kinneir's house, and did take a chamber in Watling Street, from — joiner or wright.

31st.—I was but a little while out this day, and dined within, Mr. Law being with me.

Sabbath, 1st FEBRUARY 1685.—I stayed within all day. I read Psalm 112. 4: Unto the upright there ariseth light in the darkness.

2d.—I went to Whitehall with Mr. William Law, with design to have seen the King in his chapel, but we were stopt at the outer gate of Whitehall, which we found strictly guarded with soldiers, and found that the strictness was because the King had taken a very sudden fit of sickness about seven this morning, so as he was thought dead for about an hour.

I dined in Mr. James M'Aulay's.

3d.—I went to the Hermitage in Wapping to enquire after the sailing of the ship wherein I came from Scotland, and was a while with Mr. Nicoll Blacky.

4th.—I dined with Mr. Allan, and was upon the monument taking a view of the city with him.

His Majesty continued still ill, and had another fit that same night.

5th.—I was out towards Hide Park and at Knight's bridge with Mr. William Law and Mr. Robert Cunningham, and at Leicester fields Castle house, which they were throwing down.

6th.—This morning his Majesty King Charles the Second died, and his royal brother, the Duke of York and Albany, was proclaimed King in his stead, at several places of the city of London, the Mayor and aldermen concurring, and being present on horseback, some of the nobility and late Council being present in their coaches.<sup>1</sup>

I dined with Mr. Hepburn.

7th.—I was little abroad this day. I was a while on the Exchange.

8th.—I did read a while on Veadilm: and Psalm 62. 8: Trust in him at all times, ye people.

<sup>1</sup> The illness and death of the King are referred to in the minutes of the Privy Council of Scotland. The Secretaries Moray and Drummond write from London on 2d February thus:—‘ It is with the greatest greiffe our souls are capable of that we must inform your lordships of the extreame hazard of his sacred majesty this morning by violent fits of convulsions which lasted near one hour; but at present (God Almighty be thanked) he is quit out of the fitt.’ On 10th Feb. the council meet, and express ‘ their excessive greiffe for the removeall of their dear and gracious souveraine,’ and a letter is drawn up, addressed to the new King, in which they say:—‘ Nothing could support us under this great load of greiffe and sorrow for the removeall of our late gracious souveraine, who transcended all who ever reigned before him, in wisdome, justice, and clemency, but that he being thereby become without doubt more happy and glorious, hath left us under your sacred majesty’s most auspicious government.’

9th.—I went with Mr. Law to Mr. Blackey, and was a while in the shop with Mr. Greenwood.

10th.—I dined with Brea<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Hepburn, and afternoon went with them to Newington, about three miles by north the city.

11th.—I dined with Mr. Allan and Mr. John Reid, and was little abroad.

12th.—I was forenoon with my uncle Mr. William Erskine, master of Charter house.

13th.—I was with Mr. Hepburn a while, and on the Exchange, but went not much abroad.

14th.—I was at Wapping enquiring for ships that were to go for Holland.

15th.—I heard sermon, Psalm 62. 8.

16th.—I went to Bedlam, where there are many mad and distempered people kept, with Mr. Hepburn.

17th.—I was at Hackney, about a mile and a half north from the city, where Mr. George Sinclair kept a school. I was with my uncle at Charter house the forenoon.

18th.—I was all this afternoon with Mr. Jameson towards Goodmans fields.

19th.—I dined in Mr. Blackey's with Mr. Law, and afternoon was with him and Mr. Hepburn at Moorfields.

20th.—I went with Mr. Hepburn to Westminster, and was in the Abbey, where I did see the Tombs of many of the Kings of England, and great persons, and the Parliament houses, St. Margaret's Chapel, and other things to be seen.

21st.—This day I went to Hackney, and was with Mr. George and Robert Sinclairs.

22d.—I went to several churches, that I might see the way of the Church of England.

23d.—I was at Spittlefields, and did see the silk works, and was enquiring after a ship for Rotterdam.

24th.—I was for the most part at home.

25th.—I was with my uncle, and dined with Mr. William Law, and was seeing severals before my going away.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. James Fraser of Brae, Ross-shire. Letters of Intercommuning were issued against him in 1675, and since then he had been subjected to fines and imprisonment, and latterly liberated on bond to leave Scotland. After the Revolution he was minister at Culross.

26th.—This forenoon I took boat at the Hermitage, and afternoon came to the vessell wherein I was to go for Rotterdam, which was at Gravesend,—having been in one house with Mr. John Law all the time I was in London; we came together from Scotland.

There was a few days before this a searching for Scots people through London, so that they were now almost in as great hazard there as at home, and hardly could they get away without being challenged. I went ashore at Gravesend and bought necessaries for my diet at sea.

27th.—This morning we loosed from Gravesend; the master of the vessell was Jacob Voullers, a Dutchman.

Shortly after we loosed there came on a great storm of wind and snow, so as the skipper did not adventure to go to the sea, but kept near the coast of Kent that so he might gain some harbour. The sea went over the ship, and seemed upon the deck, and all the time I sat above, there being about 50 passengers, and a great many of them women, and so no room that I could sit conveniently below. We lay all night in Dover road, several of the passengers having gone on shore all night.

28th.—The vessell was this morning brought into Dover harbour, the storm continuing so strong that a ship lying in the road lost her anchor and cable and went to the sea. I went up towards Dover Castle, but went not in; it is naturally strong, but now very ill manned, there being but about two or three men in it. I lodged at the Scots Arms, and did diet with severall other passengers.

(MARCH 1st, 1685.)—I stayed within most of this day, and was a while with one Tait, a Leith skipper, that came into the harbour from the storm.

2d.—This afternoon the wind being fair, we sailed from Dover.

I heard here that the French King was pulling down all Protestant churches, and designed to take a great army to Britain that he might reduce the people there to the popish religion.

3d.—This day we came to the river of the Maese, and lay above the Briell all night.

4th.—This forenoon I landed at Rotterdam, and went to James Bruce's coffee house, where I met first with my brother Charles.

5th.—I was dining in Mr. Robert Fleming's, and did see the Laird of Westshiells.<sup>1</sup>

6th.—I met with Mr. Robert Langlands, my old master, whom I longed much to see. I was with William Sythrum and several other friends.

7th.—I dined with Mr. Forrester, and was afternoon in Mr. Russell's, and with Mr. P—— and Doctor Blackader,<sup>2</sup> in the Scots coffee house.

I was this week in a ship of 1600 tons, with three decks, carrying 110 guns. I did yesterday meet with Mr. Robert Langlands, my old master, whom I had long desired to see.

8th.—I was at the Scots church, and did hear Mr. Robert Fleming, *Acts 14. 22*, and Mr. John Hogg, *Psalm 11. 1*, both ministers of the Scots congregation at Rotterdam. I heard also Mr. Patrick Verner in the Kirk.

9th.—I took a chamber this day in Robert Gibb's, sometime merchant in Stirling, having staid until now with my brother Charles.

I was afternoon with Mr. Thomas Forrester, and with Andrew Turnbull a while.

10th.—I did see Waterside,<sup>3</sup> William Cleland,<sup>4</sup> and was much with Mr. Robert Langlands, and hearing Mr. Kirkton's<sup>5</sup> evening exercise.

11th.—I was a while with Mr. James Guthrie and Mr. Wishart, and afternoon with the Laird of Cultness.<sup>6</sup>

12th.—I was hearing sermon in the Kirk this forenoon and afternoon was with P——.

13th.—I was with Mr. Robert Langlands.

14th.—I was in company with James Robertoun, a student

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Denholm. He had a patent of baronetcy in 1693.

<sup>2</sup> William Blackadder, M.D., eldest son of Mr. John Blackadder, minister at Troqueer. He was afterwards physician to King William.

<sup>3</sup> John Cochrane.

<sup>4</sup> He fought at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge; and, as lieutenant-colonel of the Cameronian regiment, was slain at the memorable defence of Dunkeld in 1689.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. James Kirkton, author of a history of the Church of Scotland. He was ousted minister of Mertoun.

<sup>6</sup> Sir Thomas Stewart, son of Sir James, who was provost of Edinburgh at the Restoration. Sentence of death was passed against Sir Thomas while he was in exile.

of law at Leyden, and with James Murray, an officer of Foot, son to Polmaise.

15th.—I heard sermon upon the same texts, and Mr. John Harrowar; also I was with Cultness and his eldest son David, and at night with Mr. Forrester.

16th.—I was preparing for my going to Leyden, and with Mr. Langlands.

17th.—I was with Mr. Will. Cleland, Mr. Alexander Hastie, Mr. Brown, Mr. Kirkton, and several others, and in James Dunlop's.

18th.—At ten o'clock I left Rotterdam, and walked to Delph with Mr. Langlands and William Sythrum, and was a while in Mr. John Sinclair's house, minister of the English congregation there. From Delph I went to the Hague in a scout with Mr. Langlands, and was at the Prince of Orange's Court, but missed a sight of himself. Before five in the afternoon we left the Hague, and came to Leyden about eight, and met with some Edinburgh Colledge Fellows.

19th.—I dined with David Hamilton, Mr. Blair, Carberrie's son, and Walter Seton, son to Sir Walter Seton. I did take a chamber near the Colledge, and was with Sir James Dalrymple, Lord Stair, sometime President of the Scots Session.

20th.—I went to the fields with David Hamilton and David Davidson, and was upon the mount, from whence I got a sight of the city, where there were white pheasants and several other beasts.

21st.—I heard Mr. Hinckman, minister of the English church at Leyden, and afternoon was a little in the great church, and heard the organs.

22d.—I was a while with Mr. Hay, student of Physick, who was going for France. I went to the scout with Mr. Langlands, who went back for Rotterdam. I was with Mr. Charles Ker, Mr. Blair, and others, and calling for Matthias, a Professor of Law, to speak to him anent taking a colledge of the Institutes, three who had colledges already having condescended to take a new Colledge of the Institutes, which was a good opportunity for me, having come in a time when colledges usually begin not.

23d.—I was several times at an auction, buying books, and a while in Mr. Adair's chamber, an Irish student of Physick.

24th.—I was with John Fleming, and a while with Mr. Seaton.

25th.—I was a while with Mr. John Sinclair and others.

26th.—I this day began to learn Hebrew from Mr. John Sinclair, student of Divinity, son to Mr. John, minister of Ormeston.

27th.—I was a while with the President, and in Mr. Seaton's chamber with David Hamilton.

28th.—I heard one Mr. Holmes in the forenoon, and Mr. Hickman afternoon, Titus 1. 6, 'not accused of riot or unruly.'

29th.—This day I began the Institutes with Mr. Charles Ker, my Lord Lothian's son, and James Menteath, son to a merchant in Edinburgh, and James Forrester, a minister's son ; Matthias having given us a Colledge. As I hope I have followed this study by and in dependance on the Lord's direction, so I desire he may yet countenance me with his blessing and direction in every step and change of my life, that the result and end of all may be his glory and the salvation of my soul.

30th.—I went little out of my chamber. Mr. John Forrester and his brother James was with me.

(APRIL 1st, 1685, Wednesday.)—I was a while with David Dalrymple. The private colledge was not kept on Wednesday.

2d.—This day our private colledge was delayed because of an inaugurate dispute at the house. I was a while with David Hamilton, who had an ague.

3d.—I was a while with John Flemming, and stayed within much of the afternoon.

4th.—I stayed in my chamber and went not out all this day. Mr. Menteath and James Forrester were a while with me.

5th.—I heard Mr. Holmes and Mr. Hinckman in the English church, and took a walk without the city afternoon with Mr. John Forrester and Mr. Sinclair, and was some time in Mr. Forrester's chamber after we came in.

6th.—We altered the dyet of our college with Matthias, and had it now betwixt seven and eight in the morning. I was a while at night with David Hamilton and David Dickson.

7th.—I was this day matriculate. The Rector enquired if I would take the colledge oath, but did not propose it by way of an oath, having only desired my promise that I should do or not do such things as he spoke of.

8th.—I was a while with Pringle of Stitchell, who was going for France, and with Mr. Blair.

9th.—I was in Stitchell's chamber, with Biggar of Woolmet, who had changed his name from Wallace<sup>1</sup> when he succeeded to Woolmet's estate. I was in the physicians' garden, where I did see a number of fine herbs and trees, many of both which, and some with the fruit upon them, were preserved in a house all winter. I did likeways see a number of rarities, with many creatures preserved in their perfect shapes, by Doctor Herman, one of the Professors of Medicine.

10th.—I was with Stitchell, Woolmet and Robert Blair, when they took the scout for Utrecht, who were going straight for France. There was upwards of 20 Scots men waiting upon them when they went away. I was in the President's and with Mr. John Forrester.

11th.—I went to Rotterdam, and was a part of the way with Mr. Adair, a student of physick.

12th.—I heard Mr. Flemming, and Mr. Thomas Forrester, who preached on, 'I heard Ephraim bemoaning himself,' etc.

13th.—I was seeing Mr. Stewart and several others.

14th.—I was with Mr. Flemming, Mr. Pitcairn, Mr. George Campbell.

I did see Sir Patrick Home.

15th.—I came from Rotterdam to Leyden, and was in the President's.

16th.—I stayed within all day writing up the whole length our Professor had gone, except a little while I was in Mr. John Forrester's chamber.

17th.—I stayed within this day likeways, and was writing our Professor's notes upon the Institutes as before.

18th.—This evening I went to Rotterdam by waggon, with Mr. John Forrester, Mr. William Veitch, and Mr. George Wishart.

19th.—This day the sacrament was given in the Scots church at Rotterdam, and I, although not determined before, yet considering upon what I might be called to shortly, and not knowing if again I ever might have that blessed opportunity

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<sup>1</sup> Of Craigie Wallace.

of meeting with Christ, that I might now entirely give my heart and all that I am and have to him, and renew all my former promises, and corroborate them by this: and so having endeavoured at a suitable examination and preparation, I was a partaker of that holy communion, and I wish it may produce an endless communion and neerness betwixt God and me, Mr. John Harrowar being administrator of it to me.

20th.—I came from Rotterdam with Mr. John Forrester at three in the afternoon, and at Delph, having gone to see the magazines we missed a scout, and were necessitated to wait until eleven at night, having staid at Mr. John Sinclair's, minister there, it being past two the next morning before we were at Leyden.

21st.—I was several times with my Lord Stair, and did put up my books and order other things, in order to my going for Amsterdam, with a design not to return, at least for some considerable time.

21st.—I was seeing the anatomy house here, where there are many of the best rarities in the world.

22d.—I left Leyden this morning before seven, with Mr. John Forrester, a preacher, and now a student of medicine. We walked to Harlem, and had a pleasant sight of the country; we came from Harlem in a waggon, and were at Amsterdam before four in the afternoon.

23d.—I was with Mr. Carr, or Argyle, this morning, being now for some time fully determined to join in that design of endeavouring, with a dependance upon and under God, the delivery of our native land from being again drowned in popish idolatry and slavery, which is now as it were tyed up with a very small thread ready to be broken. I cannot say that I could ever raise a scruple against the business itself, neither could I see how I or any man (who did not resolve to comply with and join himself to all the abominations that were now ready to make our land desolate, or was resolved to be for God in his generation, and had given himself to him) could refuse to venture all he had in the world for the interest of Christ against so mighty enemies,—the liberties of the nation, the property of the subject, and the lives of all our honest countrymen and friends, being inseparably joined with that great in-

terest; yea I may say the standing or falling of the Protestant interest in Europe depended in a great measure upon the event of this undertaking in Britain, so that I could no ways make my being now at my studies, yea the beginning of them, ballance so great an interest. As I ought to seek earnestly the direction of God in every thing I go about, so I hope I have no ways contradicted, but depended upon, and gone along with the direction of God in this undertaking, upon whose direction help and support I desire to rely, and through his strength shall rely, in this and all other actions of my life, that while I breath I may be for him and him only, and in the end be brought unto him through Christ for ever.

24th.—I was providing several things for myself in this exploit, as buff coat, etc.

25th.—I was with Sir Patrick Home of Polwarth, *alias* Mr. Pearson, and Mr. Thomas Forrester and Mr. George Barclay. Mr. John Forrester, with whom I stayed in one chamber since I came from Leyden, went this night to one of the ships (there being in all three) he being likeways to join in that good cause.

26th.—I heard the minister of the English independent church at Amsterdam.

27th.—I was buying severall things this day, and at night came aboard of a scout, where I stayed all night.

28th.—This morning I came aboard of the Anna, whereof James Wishart was Captain, my Lord Argyle being there before with a great number of gentlemen and others.

29th and 30th of April and 1st May 1685.—I was aboard the ship, and lay betwixt Amsterdam and Ulie that time.

2d.—Sir Patrick Home, Denham of Westshiells, David Dickson, Walter Seaton, James Thomson, and I, left the Anna and came on board the David, another ship that was to go with the same company. We ventured out this night, tho the wind was contrary, and past the Ulie about seven at night, but before we were come well out and free of the banks the wind changed and became favourable for us. Such was the goodness of God, that tho it was misguided by man, yet He was still favourable. We were in some fear for the English Consul, who in a little scout went severall times about the ships, least

he should have made some stop to us towards the Ulie, but we found none tho he did attempt it.

3d.—I heard Mr. George Barclay preach.

4th.—We had a very fair wind all this day.

5th.—This morning early we came in sight of the shore towards the Murray firth, and was designed to go in for some little time, but durst not adventure to go in least the ships should be inclosed by the wind.

6th.—This night we came to Carestoun bay, where we anchored: it was upon the mainland of Orkney. Dr. Blackader and Mr. William Spence went to Kirkwall, the chief town of Orkney, to speak with some persons.

7th.—Severals went ashore to the Isle, but I went not.

We got notice this night that the Bishop of Orkney had caused apprehend Mr. Spence and Mr. Blackader. Soon after the news came my Lord sent some men ashore, and caused apprehend the Laird of Gramse with one of his sons, and one Baillie Graham and his brother, and presently a post was dispatched to the bishop, with a letter from those gentlemen, and one from my Lord, desiring the two gentlemen to be set presently at liberty, otherways threatening present resistance with all severity, showing also that the gentlemen prisoners under him might expect such dealing as the two gentlemen taken by him met with. Many were offended at that way of sending two or a few men on shore, but thought best either to appear what we were or delay sending any. Many were for going publickly to Kirkwall and assaulting the place after they were apprehended, but they having now time to prepare, by being warned of our coming, from Edinburgh, it was thought dangerous and therefore delayed. In all this some did act too much without the advice of others, which made others take exceptions.

8th.—About eleven in the forenoon we loosed from Kerstoun, and took the prisoners along with us; we took also a little bark along with us that was lying at Kerstoun, for the more easy transporting of men and ammunition as occasion offered.

9th.—The wind did exceedingly favour us as yet, so that I may say as our course altered so the wind did favour us; we were passing the Isles of Barra.

10th.—I heard Mr. George Barclay: We were passing the Lewes.

11th.—We entered the Sound of Mull, having calm much of this day. We did anchor all night at Tippermore, where the rich Spanish ship was sunk, for which my Lord Argyle did cause dive, having got some cannon.

12th.—Afternoon we loosed and sailed betwixt the Mull and the mainland belonging to Cameron of Lochiel and others: we anchored upon the sound of Mull this night, within two or three miles of Douart Castle, standing upon Mull.

13th.—After we loosed we drew near the Castle of Douart, within cannon shot, but they did not fire at us. At night we came to a bay betwixt Lorn and the Isle of the Horse shoe. There was letters dispatched this night for stopping of boats going to the enemy, and advertising some of Argyle's friends, and there was considerable encouragement and ground of hope given by some gentlemen already. I went ashore this night, about an hour, upon Lorn: there was good grass and many fine herbs, tho full of hills, yet a watrish spouting ground.

14th.—I was learning to exercise the musquet. At Amsterdam in April some gentlemen framed a council of those that were present then, admitting also such of the Scots nation as should afterwards join themselves to the Interest, by whose advice and assistance matters of concern in this great and weighty undertaking were to be managed, and now being come this length, so that joint council was requisite, and severalls having come along from Holland who were not at the first meeting, it was thought fit that a select number should be taken out of the whole, who were to be as delegates from the body, and on whom matters of concern were to be devolved, all being equally concerned in the business, but not alike fit to act in every particular. Some who had been at the meeting in Amsterdam were secluded, and others joined. In the ship I was in Sir Patrick Home, and Denham of Westshiel were unanimously agreed on. I was troubled with the thoughts, I may say the temptations, of Satan, of my not appearing much and giving my mind freely as some of my own age, and others with whom I used much freedom separately, when affairs were discoursed of and debated accidentally, but when I seriously

thought on it, I was made to reflect on my entertaining such selfish vain and worldly aspiring thoughts, seeing many words are but needless, vain and sinfull, especially when few will serve, and when acting and adhering to or declining from any particular is more our duty, and for the advantage of the Interest, than to speak much and have a great appearance, which is vanity, especially when men seek after it so of themselves. And if we would consider that the Lord is fully able to give us a tongue and understanding as he sees convenient for his glory and our good, it might make us ashamed, and there is no remembrance of those things in the grave whither we go. We lay now within a mile or two of the Castle of<sup>1</sup> — in Lorn belonging to one Mr. M'Dougall, who died a few days before our coming, which is remarkable, he being a great enemy to my Lord Argyle, and so might have done prejudice to the cause he owned. We were about as far from the Castle Dunstafnage which belonged to one Campbell. We came in to the Sound of Illay, and anchored at the white foreland, betwixt the Isle and Jury, upon the mainland.

15th.—We lay at anchor all this day. There was severall gentlemen with my Lord anent raising Illay: My Lord did before this put the company in hopes of getting six hundred men out of Illay. There was four hundred and fifty Athol men in Illay, who had taken up the arms from the country, and taken bonds from people to keep them from rising.

16th.—We got notice that the Athol men had all fled out of Illay and gone to Kintyre, as soon as they heard of our approach. One Campbell, the Laird of Caddell, Baillie in Illay, being come presently from Edinburgh, was doing what lay in his power to hinder people's rising at this time with Argyle; and for that effect designed to arm the people with the arms that the Athol men had taken up, that thereby he might prevent our getting them, if not oppose us if occasion offered.

17th.—About one o'clock this morning the most part of our men went out of all the ships, and landed upon Illay, and marched six miles to Gilliow in three hours, being almost

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<sup>1</sup> Dunolly.

every one of us well armed, and many with armour of back breast and helmet. We prevented the Baillie, by half an hour, who was within a mile of the place. This was the chief town in Illay. This day there came about 80 men, who gave up their names and offered their service to my Lord; they were for most part lusty, tall, handsome men.

There was about 100 men in Illay who, when the Athol men were imposing oaths upon the islanders, took themselves to the hills and refused to obey: many of these, and others, seem'd to act out of a principle for the Protestant cause and interest, and no otherways. The tutor of Caddell, with his sons and severall other gentlemen, gave my Lord their concurrence. The baillie was sent for, but came not, but in a letter pretended he stayed out of no disrespect to him or the cause, but to preserve his master's interest, and besides that he was engaged to the contrary by several oaths and bonds. I heard no preaching: we were in great disorder all this day, which was occasioned by the urgency of preventing the baillie and hasting to go back.

18th.—This forenoon the baillie was taken in the fields near Gillierow. We were well intartained in this place; we returned this day to our ships. Almost the half of those who were Volunteers yesterday compeared not this day, and there was but small hopes of getting any considerable number in this Isle otherways. Yet there was another trial made by getting an order from the Baillie to raise the Isle, it being declared that if there were not 300 men ready in a day or two the Baillie should be hanged.

19th.—I went ashore a while upon Jury, and then went to the Anne, and was a while with Mr. Thomas Forrester. This day we loosed, and shortly got a fair wind directing our course toward Kintyre. There was two or three little barks left with Thomas Bogle, to bring along those Illay men that were to be gathered against tomorrow.

20th.—We came to Kintyre this morning, and did see great part of the coast of Ireland, and Ilsay, which lyes in the midst betwixt Scotland and Ireland, where there are many kinds of fowls, such as Solen geese etc. We anchored at Campbell-toun, and severals went ashore, whereof I was one, being upon

the cross when our Declaration was publickly read with sound of trumpet. I stayed ashore all night.

Many of the Gentlemen about fled, pretending that they had taken bonds engaging them to the contrary.

21st.—This forenoon Mr. Thomas Forrester preached in the Kirk of Campbelltoun upon Exodus 33 ch. 14 and 15 v. from which he spoke excellently to the matter in hand and pleased the people well. The Declaration was read after the preaching, and then a particular declaration of my Lord's to his own people, after which my Lord spoke a little, at which some seemed to be moved.

22d.—This was the day of rendevois for Kintyre, which was in the park at the town-head.

The men that came along were modelled and framed in companies, whereof James Henderson had one, and James Denham another, I being made Ensign to Henderson, and carried the first colours made use of in this cause, the motto being,—for the Protestant Religion,—and the motto of the other stand taken out this day was—against Popery, Prelacy, and Erastianism.

Some gentlemen that had formerly withdrawn came in to us this day.

23d.—This day we went to the Park, several companies being now formed of Lowlanders that dwelt in this country, and arms delivered them. Yesterday Mr. George Barclay was sent to Carrick to advertise that country, and David Dickson was sent to Cunningham for that effect, and to get advice where the forces of our enemies lay.

There was seven or eight infants baptized in the church on Thursday last by Mr. Forrester.

24th.—Mr. Thomas Forrester preached in a meeting-house in the town on Exodus 33. 14 and 15, and Mr. Alexander Hastie, with Mr. John Forrester, in the church, there being a necessity to be preaching in two places at once because of the confluence of people.

Many were offended with our lingering so long in this place now, when the men we had got were beginning to drop away, all the men we got in Kintyre being prest except those of the town of Campbelltoun and country about, that had come from

the Lowlands, many of whom had fled thither upon the account of religion, and did now join from that principle, with a few others, and not as others only upon Argyle's account. Of all the men who did voluntarily enlist themselves at Gilliow in Illay, who were about 80, there was now scarcely twelve left present, so little to be trusted are many of the Highlanders.

25th.—We had news from Mr. Barclay that people there were longing for us, and could get about 1000 horse in a few days, and that some companies of our enemies that lay in Glasgow, were in such fear that they fled to the Castle and Tolbooth, and that Monmouth had set up his standard in England, and had a great army, his Declaration being at Air already, while ours was scarcely one mile off this, being but presently printed. When this news came people were yet more displeased at our staying here longer, when we were getting no more men, but losing those we had, and might probably lose many in the Lowlands. This night I went aboard of the Anne to go by sea to Tarbet, Sir Patrick Home being in her, and a company of men divided among the three ships to defend them in case of opposition, beside about twelve fishing boats we carried from Campbelltoun.

26th.—This morning we loosed from Loch Kilkeran, at Campbelltoun, my Lord and Sir John Cochran and others having gone by land, that they might get such men as were upon the way to Tarbet to join with them, there being with them three Illay companies, but not compleat there.

28th.—I went ashore with severall others, being sent for. There was a resolution agreed upon betwixt my Lord, Sir John Cochran, Sir Patrick Home, and others present, that my Lord should stay here in his own country, and keep with him all the forces he had (that with them he might assault those under Athol that possessed Inveraray, who were about five hundred men) except the two companies of Lowland men that came from Campbelltoun, with the troop of horse that came from that place, tho the horse were but good for dragoons, with all that came from Holland, if they were willing, who were to make an infall into the Lowlands upon Carrick, or where it should be thought most fit. There was six who came from Holland who were not positive presently to make a descent

into the Lowlands, as that which was our great interest now, and not to skulk through the Highland hills upon the interest of any man in prejudice of the cause for which we were venturing our all ; and my Lord had condescended in a meeting of about 14 of those who came from Holland, where I was present, to send with us the ship called the Sophia, with two thousand stand of arms for foot and dragoons, and two hundred stand for horse, with as much ammunition as was needfull, and that the ship was presently to be put in order that we might be ready to sail the next day. After this was concluded my Lord was called on, but returned not, and when he was desired to order the execution of what was agreed, his answer was, he knew not if that was now fit, without satisfying any or giving a reason why it was not convenient. He pretended next when he was desired to meet anent that, that he was to deliver out arms to the Highlanders that were there, and yet he gave none that night. The division was like to come to some height, many being ready to take their own way of leaving him, perceiving his design of lingering here, and that he acted all things immediately of himself, without regarding that council which was framed at Amsterdam.

To another resolution of our going into the Lowlands, with my Lord and all the forces that were gathered, Sir Duncan Campbell and all the highland gentlemen that were present did willingly and frankly assent, declaring that they were for the Protestant Interest, which they acknowledged might be more advanced by their going into the Lowlands with us, than their staying here to defend their cows (which they valued not) against Athol's force. I lay in the fields all night, at a burial place, with severall other gentlemen.

29th.—We could scarcely get bread and drink in this place. Afternoon I went aboard the David, with Sir Patrick Home ; the men and the horse were put aboard in boats, leaving a few men and horse for want of boats. We designed to go toward Carrick, as had been concluded on, but to stay at Cowall and Bute untill they raised what men they could get, expecting two hundred, and to halt there a day or so. We had 25 boats with us, some of them holding 100 men, beside one bark.

30th.—This morning about 60 men were sent off to the Isle

of Meikle Comray, with Sir John and Sir Patrick, Sir John having the command, I being with them. We were to try for intelligence and get as many men and boats as we could. I went to the curate's house, with severall others, to try for arms and provisions. We carried away one little gun, but neither meal nor beef, tho there was of both there. None of the boats could be got ready this night, so we left the Isle. I did see Mr. Alexander Symer, minister, in whose house I had been the last year. We were all night in the boats.

31st.—I went ashore to Rosay in Bute, a Borough Royal, and chief town of the shire of Bute. I heard Mr. Thomas Forrester.

We understood that my Lord had caused burn the Castle of Rosay; there was only two chambers burnt, which was all that remained. There was about two hundred cows driven to the town by the highlanders, at Mr. Charles'<sup>1</sup> command, but they were all given back to the people again.

The Highlanders, in going through the Isle of Bute committed many abuses, by plundering people's houses, killing and haching of kine sheep and lambs, only at Mr. Charles' command, who did himself go through Rosay and caused people depone upon oath what money they had, and then give it him, which many did much regret, reflecting upon the Highlanders as being the occasion of all, and bringing on us the calumny of oppression and robbery which we were now fighting against. Mr. Forrester from the pulpit did severely reprove and warn them of their guilt. We got notice that a party had come from the Largs to Comray, and staved eleven boats which we should have got, and that there was a Regiment of Foot with some troops of horse at the Largs.

(JUNE 1st, 1685, Monday.)—All that came from Holland, a very few only excepted, were now positive for pressing my Lord not to stay here longer, but go to the Lowlands, seeing our friends were waiting upon us, and might probably be cut off in parties, and while we were in great hazard in this place, there being a considerable force of the enemy at the Largs, and Athol's men upon the other hand, and which is most, having intelligence that a first-rate Frigate and two other ships with

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Charles Campbell, son of the Earl of Argyle.

guns had sailed from Leith a fortnight ago, designing to follow us into those seas, which we might now daily expect to be upon us.

Polwarth was desired by many to speak to my Lord, which he did, anent our going away; but was answered roughly, and challenged for his meddling with that; my Lord asking him what he could or would do, he replyed, as he was answered, roughly, that he would let him know what he was able to do. Sir John did too much comply with my Lord in some things, and crusht proposals that might be profitable, altho at other times he was far otherways, and I believe he has a very honest heart for the cause, and likeways his son John, who was very active in promoting of it. Mr. Thomas Archer, who was sent from Holland to advertise our friends in Ireland, came to us with James Lisk and nine other men; some hundreds would have come with him, if with safety he might have staid a few days upon them. I went through the Castle of Rosay, which has been of considerable strength.

2d.—I went aboard of the David with Sir Patrick, and the ship being loosed, we went towards the shore of Cowall. We got intelligence that a party of Athol's men had surprized Mr. Charles with about a hundred men, in their quarters, and apprehended two or three of Mr. Charles' men in their retreat.

3d.—We went up Clyde, and anchored before the town of Greenock, with the Sophia or Francis, there being about two hundred land men in both the ships. Before we could have a boat ashore we perceived a troop of horse, and soon understood them to be the gentlemen of Renfrew commanded by my Lord Cochran and young Houstoun, Lieutenant. They drew presently up within the sea-mark, under the cover of our guns, then one of our great guns was fired, which made them presently retire to the hill at the back of the town; after that, upon the shooting more guns, they retired again a little further; then twelve of our men went ashore under John Fullerton, and presently about as many came down the hill with young Houston, and drew up near our people at the west end of the town; then Fullerton called that they might come near, and fired a musket, which made them retire; next he sent an old man that was on the shore to try what they

were, and if they would treat: then Houstoun held up a white handkerchief in sign of treaty, and Fullerton another sign, taking two men with him; but he perceiving five men with Houstoun, called that he might put two of them back. Houstoun asked if he might have his safety; which was granted; when he enquired for what we were come? To which Fullerton answered, and put to him a question: then Houstoun abruptly and without any warning fired upon Fullerton. After both sides had fired all their shot, the horse retired, Crawfurd of Cartsburn having lost his hat in the retiring, and another his plumash.

When they were at this, I was landing with Sir Patrick, and several other boats; only three of our men and four or five of theirs fired. We were but a little while landed when the whole troop went over the hill and left us, tho we when landed were but a few more than half their number. Then we went into the town and carried away a large bark and several little boats, with about 30 bolls of Mr Alexander Heygin's meal. We found the men generally averse from going with us, tho some desired we might make a formality of pressing them, that their wives and families might be free of hazard from our enemies when we were gone. We got some this way, and did press some seamen, and some who had been lurking and waiting for such an opportunity came willingly. We had but about 30 in all. Old Greenock,<sup>1</sup> tho he was concerned in all undertakings of this sort for several years, yet he shifted his coming to us or speaking with any concerned: he spoke afar off of his good wishes, and so did Cartsburn who appeared against us in arms: by this we understood the luke warmness and little zeal that was among some both gentlemen and people. Young Greenock was violent against us. This night we left Greenock and went towards Bute, Sir John Cochran commanded our party.

4th.—This morning when we came near Bute we understood that my Lord had left Rosay, and carried his men to the point of Cowall opposite to it near the Castle of ——. I went to see him ashore, to know of him what orders he had for our ship, seeing the men were wearied and not able to cruize upon

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Shaw, Knight.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to refer to Castle Toward.

the shore any longer. Sir John Cochran told me he was again resolved to stay in the Highlands himself, and send some hundreds into the Lowlands, with these gentlemen who came from Holland ; which motion was much desired by many, tho Sir John, considering how slow people were at Greenock, and that Monmouth's being in England was not generally believed, was content to stay a while where he was ; but others were for going, that being the motion condescended on in Holland as most rational, seeing friends by a delay were still out of a capacity to join. I heard my Lord say that one hundred Highlanders had run away with their arms, selling their guns for a shilling. We went up Loch<sup>1</sup> — towards the Castle of Allan Gregg<sup>2</sup> where the arms, ammunition and ships, were to be secured.

5th.—I went ashore upon Bute, and shot at a mark. There was about 14 of the Sheriff of Butes cows killed for the use of the ships.

The Castle, it was thought, with some pains, might be made a considerable defence.

6th.—I went ashore upon Cowall, within a mile or two of the Castle of Allan Gregg, and spoke with Sir John and Sir Patrick and others, anent my going into the country where I might be most usefull, viz. a part of Stirlingshire, and about Cardross and Menteath, and anent Mr. Thomas Forrester's going, who was of considerable influence in that country. It was concluded that it should be convenient and necessary that we should go, my Lord being likeways willing. About sunset we came away, having a boat with six oars ; there was in all Mr. Thomas Forrester, minister, Mr. John Forrester, preacher (who designed to go to the south if with safety he could), Robert Rannie in Falkirk, John Richie, Patrick Hardie, Hugh Montgomery, Thomas Neilson, John Drysdale, my servant, with Mr. Forrester's boy and I. Mr. Duncan Campbell did like-ways go along with us, knowing the country about Levenwell.

7th.—This morning we landed in Cowall, and stayed the night in a house of Orchart's, brother to Ardkinlass, his Lady being only at home, who provided us with victuals ; it was near the Kirk of<sup>3</sup> —. We came next to Loch Lung, Mr.

<sup>1</sup> Riddon.

<sup>2</sup> Ellan-Gheirrig.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Kilmun.

Duncan Campbell having gone ashore to get notice in what case the country was, and then we went straightway on, not without some apprehensions of hazard, our boat being too laigh in the sides to hide us from people on the shore.

8th.—About break of day we landed at the Hill of Ardmore, and tho we proposed many difficulties yet we met with few or none, but got matter of encouragement. I went to Alexander Bruce's house, the boatman, with Mr. Duncan, having left the rest lurking at the shore.

I knew not but there might be of our enemies in Alexander's house, as frequently there was, it being a change house, but by a good providence we found some Greenock men, who had fled least they should be compelled to take arms against us (Mr. Duncan knowing Andrew Wilson one of them). Then Mr. Duncan went to Killmahew, whose advice we were to take anent our going forward, but we were far dissapointed of him, for tho Mr. Duncan used all privacy by sending to him three or four times and wrting, so that positively he shifted his speaking with him or me, Mr. Duncan having only told him of my being there, and the commission we had, but he still gave only but shifting answers, telling he knew nothing and could give no advice in the matter; and when he was pressed to it by arguments, he said, when it came to be clearly papist and protestant, then we ought to stirr. O how are men so stupified to blind fold their eyes and harden their hearts that they neither will nor can see.

This day we lodged in a cave in the hill of Ardmore: by Alexander Bruce's direction, Robert Taylour, merchant in Greenock, did provide us victuals; he was also under hiding. Nicholas, Ferme's daughter, did also furnish us.

I did meet with Fermes, who gave us an exact account of the news, tho he appeared at Dumbarton with the enemy. I think he waits an opportunity to leave them. When it began to darken we left our lodging and came to the water of Leven, and passed it in a boat near the mouth of the Loch without observation, having several guides, tho it was one of the greatest difficulties we proposed in all our journey, there being some days, before this, guards keepeed on several places of the water.

9th.—We came to the bank of —, within a mile of the water, being conducted by Alexander. Will. Symer's wife with others brought us victuals. This was in the parish of Bonnill, within three miles of Dumbarton, whither we sent for news, and understood that many of the forces were come there this day, and that they designed to go against Argyle, with a report that the Duke of York was in that Castle. This night we moved towards Killern, that we might meet with Shirgarton and other friends.

10th.—We came this morning to the wood of Ledlewen, in Montrose land, where we stayed, having met with John Graham, wood factor, who dispatched messengers to severall places. We lay in the wood all day; severalls came to Mr. Forrester, and some of those who had gone to church or complied otherways, concurred likeways, and were glad to be employed. We heard now that the Duke of York had gone to Stirling, and was to be crowned at Scone shortly.

11th.—This morning Shirgarton came to us, and had been speaking to some of this business, tho he knew nothing of our coming, and was much revived at it. People were for most part in a swither, unwilling to stir untill the first ruffle was past, desiring to know something of the effect. I found also if we had come to this country with some hundreds we might have had ten for one we can get now, that they might have seen the appearance of forces to have engaged with; there were about ten who engaged this night.

There was so little dilligence used by our leader for giving intelligence to the severall parts of the country, that they understood little or nothing of our condition or of our being in the country. They knew nothing of Monmouth's design, and were made to believe that he was not in England, but in our camp, and that there was none appearing for this interest but those that were with Argyle. The Militia were fast running away from our enemies, so that scarce the half of many regiments were remaining.

12th.—This morning we came to Gribloch in Kippen parish, where we met with Gourlay of Kepdarroch, Duncan Ferguson, Arthur Dougall, and others, and spoke to them anent the affair, they having gone presently about it.

This night we separated, every one having gone where he was best acquainted, and had most influence. Mr. John Forrester, as he designed, went towards Edinburgh, with an intention to go towards the border; Robert Rannie, Hew Mongomery, John Richie, Patrick Hardie, towards Falkirk, Slamannan moor, and all that country towards Borrowstouness and Linlithgow; Mr. Thomas Forrester to Menteath, and I went to Boquhan this night.

13th.—I did not cast off all my cloaths in order to sleep since I came from Amsterdam, before this morning, and very seldom any of them.

I found people thought us of inconsiderable strength and able to do little or nothing, seeing we stayed (as if lurking) so long in the Highlands, without either engaging with Athol or coming down to the Lowlands, which people earnestly desired.

Boquhan went to Cardross, and I stayed within all day.

14th.—I came this morning to Mr. Thomas Forrester's in Boquhaple, where I found him, and heard him exercise severall times to his own family.

15th.—People here were very unwilling to appear unless the body would come from the Highlands to this country. Many of the people had a greater liking after Monmouth than Argyle, speaking of his being unfortunate in war, and some of his rigidities.

16th.—We heard of the dragoons being twice in Kippen since we came out of it, but not that there was notice of our being in the country.

Athol was now lying at Inveraray with some Highlanders and the gentlemen of Perthshire and others, thinking to master Argyle in those places. On Friday last their out guards or scouts of foot, being clan Cameron men, having met twelve of their own horse, most of them being Menteath gentlemen, fired on them, not knowing but they were enemies, at least pretending so, and killed Doig of Ballingrew, Kippen Ross,<sup>1</sup> William Napier, who was there for Gartur, and wounded Pittendreich deadly, and wounded Ardvorlich, and killed a gentleman of the name of Drummond, and others.

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<sup>1</sup> James Pearson of Kippenross.

17th.—Argyle, with the army, past the water of Leven this day, and set down at night in Fenick moor in Killearn, and the enemy, having made haste from Glasgow, pitched at the Kirk of Killearn, about a musket-shot from the other army. Argyle, about midnight, having left the fires burning, marched to the ford of Arrantrow upon Clyde, where he passed the water, notwithstanding of a guard of some hundreds that were lying there. I was much troubled now that I could get no notice from these we had met with in Kippen, having heard that some designed to follow Argyle, leaving us here, tho we concluded to take one course. This made me think the Lord had not a mind to make use of me in this great work, and I took the reason to be my not proposing God's glory intirely as my motive to join in it, and that any other sin and present unwatchfullness over an evil heart made the Lord reject me. I did also think it my part to be about duty, and patiently to wait the Lord's determination, not knowing for what we were brought off the army.

The curate of the Port did this night ride in haste to Stirling, telling by the way his brother curates and others of that stamp that Argyle was too near for them to stay at home—a great alteration indeed, that both conformists and nonconformists were lurking near to other.

Young of Kippen, having fled to Menteath, but stayed not long till he went to Kippen and put through the fiery cross to raise the people against Argyle. I wrote a letter to my mother of my being here and of my errand.

18th.—I left Menteath this night with Mr. Forrester; John Miller, and John Louden, both in Menteath, guiding us to our next quarters. All the country people about Touch, Gargunnock, and Kippen, were taken in to Stirling that they might be armed against Argyle. It was so also between Stirling and Linlithgow, but they were all soon dismissed. Mr. Romashat came much of the way with us.

19th.—This morning we came to Thomas Wingate's, in Offranc, by north Forth. Opposite to Kipdarroch we met with Robert Gourlay of Kipdarroch, Arthur Dougall, and Mr. John Thomson. At night we got afflicting news, viz<sup>t</sup>., that our army was broken, and Argyle with a few more only

taken, and few or none killed, but that they had separated and fled, and had killed many of the enemy, and that the horse were all safe with many foot, and in a body. When the news came the Castle of Stirling did shoot, and this was all the certainty we could get. I went when it was dark to Shirgarton with Arthur Dougall, and found his wife, who told me that Sir Duncan Campbell, having left the army before they passed Clyde, came there about midday, and that he was now gone for Edinburgh upon some business.

20th.—Missing Shirgarton, I came back to Boquhan, and stayed in his barn all day without telling the Laird, none knowing where I was but Alison Creighton and Margaret Stevenson, his servants, who provided for me; Arthur Dougall was to send his son to Glasgow for intelligence. I understood now that Sir Duncan Campbell left not the army until these irreligious and cowardly Highlanders, who after they had refused to fight, turned about and left the body of the army, which occasioned the taking of My Lord Argyle their master, some hundreds of them having turned back together. I left Boquhan and came to Shirgarton, where I stayed a little. We had now news from the court party, and that in print, that Monmouth landed in Lyme in Dorsetshire in England the eleventh of June.

21st.—I came to Cardross this morning early, having entered at the new gate, and stayed within all day, none knowing but my Lady and Mary Edmonston. Now the heritors were coming home from Atholl, thinking their enemies were now gone, and it was said that our ships, arms and ammunition, were all taken. I left Cardross this night.

22d.—Early this morning I came to Shirgarton, and missing him, I went to Dougall Cristall's near Boquhan glen, and stayed in his barn, Shirgarton and Arthur Dougall having come there.

23d.—There was a great confusion in the country by peoples driving their goods to the mountains and mosses, and transporting the best things they had to houses and other places that they thought secure, and running through the country with their back burthens, and all because that they knew the Marquis of Huntly, now Duke of Gordon, with about sixteen

hundred men, was at Killearn, and got a false report of his coming this way, so that the confusion and calamity of the nation made generally all people of whatever perswauision or party to wish themselves in another place than where they were.

I was now much satisfied and encouraged with the returns I had from my dear mother, next to my duty, depending upon her consent and approbation in any thing I undertook.

24th.—This morning before light I went with Shirkarton and my lad to the glen of Boquhan, and slept there below a rock.

This day James Lisk, who being unable to walk on foot, fell off our army about Killearn, came to us and told us that Argyle was positive for fighting with the enemy when at Killearn, but that others carried it against him. They lost many rich trunks and cloak bags, and some arms and other things, in their march from the water of Leven to their crossing Clyde. I having lost my trunk and cloaths, the country people for most part having got them, but in a few days were called to Dumbarton and other places, and upon oath made to deliver up what they had got to our enemies.

25th.—This morning we came to Robert Harvies in Gribloch and stayed there. The Lord did now guide and hide me in His great mercy and goodness, and when I was in greater hazard and outward trouble than formerly, my life being now in hazard if apprehended, the Lord did provide for and otherways comfort me, yet alas my sin and wickedness did frequently darken mercies, so that I knew not how to judge of them. Temporall preservation with temporall mercies and blessings are not always tokens of God's mercifull presence, yet they may be such, and when people are about their duty and aim at a dependance upon God suitable to such mercies, they may expect a comfortable issue.

26th.—I stayed still in Gribloch. Huntly's men, with the north country militia and others, passed through Kippen towards Stirling, having done little skaith, but more to the curate and his sort than to dissenters; people were now frequently hiding their best goods in rocks and mosses, which was the reason made some also that were his soldiers in this part,

being permitted to take what they found without houses only, their neighbour knaves also taking the opportunity to steal what they found out.

27th.—This morning we came to Robert Kay's in Bathron,<sup>1</sup> and at night returned to the Gribloch.

28th.—I met with James Bruce, who gave me an account of the parting of Sir John Cochran, Sir Patrick Home, and other gentlemen, with about fourscore men, two days after they had fought with three or four troops, and killed Captain Cleland with some others, being advertised by a gentleman that it was impossible for them to keep longer together, severall thousands of the forces gathering about them, so they parted about two miles from Renfrew, with this resolution that every one of them should with the first opportunity join to the first standing party of their friends; that failing, some resolved to go into England to Monmouth.

29th.—This morning, having travelled in the night, I came with Andrew Dougall to Thomas Thomson's in Leckie, and stayed in his barn with Kipdarroch, whose wife came to us.

I was now so sadly troubled with the swelling of my left hoch that I was scarcely able to stand or sit.

30th.—I came the night before to Janet Gillies's barn, and stayed in it all day with Kipdarroch; my sore was much better, something having been applied yesternight.

JULY 1st, 1685, Wednesday.—By this time we heard of Colonel Rumbold's being executed at Edinburgh, and how barbarously he was used.

2d.—I got notice that Sir John Cochran and his son John, were apprehended on Monday night last in Gawin Cochran's house, a relation of theirs, and that he was taken with them, and that they were sent to Edinburgh. Alison Creighton came where I was. I left Janet Gillies's house: she was a good and an affectionate woman.

3d.—This morning early, after I had met with Andrew Turner and spoke to him, I came to John Cameron's barn in Leckie, near the place I had been in. I took a walk with

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<sup>1</sup> Balforn.

Kipdarroch upon Forth side, and was fishing at a retired place.

4th.—I came this day back to Thomas and Andrew Thomson's barn. O but it will be sad if I mind not so as to improve aright the condition I am now in, and that the Lord has trysted me with in it; such a condition is for the most part outwardly somewhat griveous, tho sometimes it is not, yet it is a Christian's best time, and the choice of all conditions and lots when blessed of God and aright improven. O what a brave opportunity have such who are called of God to suffer for righteousness sake, to plead earnestly with God that their interest in him may be secured; but it is difficult to know who are called to suffer and who not. What I have been trysted with deserves not the name of sufferings in respect of the trials and temptations of others. Man of himself is able to endure nothing, but God can, as he lays on the burthen, give his people strength to bear it; and I pray he may fit me for what trial or other condition whatsoever I may meet with, and the result of all may be his glory, and the good of my soul.

5th.—I spent the Lord's day in the barn, praying together with Kepdarroch and the Thomsons.

6th.—Having been with Kepdarroch, who did for the most part provide victuals, about nine days, I came to Shirgarton, having spoke to Alison Creighton by the way, and early in the next morning I came to the Gribloch, where I found Mr. Thomas Forrester and Shirgarton.

I did now leave my servant behind, it being a ground of suspicion and talk among country people to hide with a servant; and because there could hardly be hyding got now for above two or three in one place, I being for most part with other hiding persons.

7th.—This morning I came to Gribloch, and met with Mr. F—r, Mr. John Dougall, who told us that Colonel Aylif, young Culness, Mr. Thomas Archer, minister, with severall others who had come from Holland with Argyle, were taken prisoners.

8th.—I did now sit up untill it was daylight and then sleep. There was now some thoughts of rescuing Colonel Aylif and

other prisoners now in Glasgow, but it failed, they being carried to Edinburgh before people were ready.

9th.—I heard from Mr. Robert Langlands, who was near Glasgow. I came with Mr. John Dougall from Gribloch to a little empty house near it, with Mr. John's father. We lay all night upon rashes.

10th.—This morning I came to John McLure's barn, who was himself in Carolina, and stayed there all day and night, lying as the night before. The standing forces, with others of the militia and gentry that were now afoot, were drawing towards the border of England, they being now much affraid of Monmouth who was prevailing and approaching to London. There were few soldiers left in many garrisons or other parts of the country, they being gone to the south.

11th.—There were very few country people who would entertain any persons who were fugitive or otherways in hazard; by the present law, these who had complied and were free themselves, by entertaining were declared to be as guilty as the persons entertained, and in the house of those who were guilty there could be no probability of safety, so that the difficulty of being hid was considerable. It was commonly said that the business of Bothwell bridge was confused, wanting representatives, as noblemen, etc., and leaders for conduct, having no good order or model in their army, and wanting ammunition and arms, and now notwithstanding of our having all these, the Lord was pleased to crush the undertaking, and make his people bare of all those, wherein I fear they too much trusted, not looking to the Lord only. Oh that his people would mourn now for their own sins, and all the sins of the land, when his call is so loud to mourn in sackcloth, and that the Lord would now return and in mercy accept of his people, and not suffer them to fall again before their enemies, but be great in the destruction of His insulting and blaspheming enemies, and in lifting up the head of His near-to-be-ruined people, tho they have been too long looking after other ways of outgate, that he only may get the glory and praise to whom only it is due. Being sent for this morning, at night I left John McLure's and came to Robert Kay's, he being an old man, and his son married to — Reid, and met with William Richard-

son, merchant in Edinburgh, who was sent from some ministers and people there, that it might be known what number of men might be expected in Stirlingshire in order to a general appearance in arms, which was now designed in a short time: he thought there would be three hundred men in and about Edinburgh. Means was now used to make those called wild people join, and there was good appearance all would be unite and joint. We went out to a burnside, and there, after prayer, spoke of the business.

12th.—This morning we parted, William Richardson having gone east, with Duncan Ferguson and Mr. John Thomson, I having come into the house, with Robert Rannie and John Richie. I keepeed the Sabbath in praying with Robert Rannie, John Risk, and John Richie.

13th.—Arthur Dougall was with us a while. The cannons were shot at Stirling, and bonefires put on in Glasgow, and wicked men insulted over the oppressed, because of some victory that (as they said) York had got over Monmouth.

14th.—We sent word this day to Edinburgh anent the business William Richardson spoke of last Saturday. There came a woman from my mother to me, desiring me to come east, showing how I might be hid there; but I wrote back that I did not incline to go east as yet. I left John Key's and came to Mr. Thomas Forrester's in Bochwaple, but got a dark and rainy night by the way, having waded through the water of Forth. I lay in the fields a while with Mr. F.—, and came to the house at daylight.

15th.—We did now wait for a return from the west, from Mr. Lan—, anent a meeting, which was designed for reconciling of all differences among professors, and appointing a fast, which all ought earnestly to pray for. Tho that party called wild, who are for most part in the south, could in probability do little or nothing of themselves, yet their dividing from others of the same profession, who at this time might appear for true religion and liberty, might strengthen and encourage a Popish and Episcopal enemy and weaken both them and their friends, especially when their scruples might be easily taken away or in part yeilded to by others. This night I left Boquhaple, and came through the moss with John Miller, the way

being very troublesome in the dark ; I sent back John and came into the house of Cardross as formerly.

16th.—I stayed most in my brother's closet, having the use of his library, which I found a pleasant divertisement, untill a better opportunity of doing somewhat else.

17th.—I was getting an account from Mrs. King, who was come from Glasgow, of my dear friend and sometime governour Mr. Langlands, who, with others of our friends there about, being to meet with Mr. Barclay, were not idle. The season was now and had been for most part of this summer and spring extream cold.

18th.—I did weary for want of information both from Edinburgh and the west, having no certainty as yet whether or not Monmouth was broke. Some of our Council and great men were beginning again to divide among themselves, the post letters and black box from court were now three severall times taken, by whom I know not yet (I think by our own friends). I did now read over a book, intitled, 'An exact history of the several changes of Government in England, from the horrid murther of King Charles the 1st to his son's return in the year 1660.'

19th.—I was for most part private all this day, and read upon Gills Firmine's treatise of effectual calling, or against Mr. Th. Shepherd, Rodgers, etc., anent a preparatory work in order to true conversion.

20th.—I was now busy reading the history of the Scots affairs out of Rushworth's Collections, having begun from the 23d July 1637, when there was a stool thrown at a bishop for attempting to read the common Prayer Book, which was rejected by that church as corrupt.

21st.—There was a passage worth the noting the day my Lord Argyle was executed, which was, that he being on the scaffold, a papist in a gentlewoman's habit cryed out,—He gets too easy a death ; O that I could but wash my hands in the traytor's heart's blood. One from the scaffold having commanded to take her away, first two baker lads, and then a multitude of women and others, having thronged upon her, tore off her hood, and drawing her by the hair untill it brought the flesh with it, they ducked her three times in the North

Loch. This said there was some zeal in the multitude, if they had a fair way to vent it.

I came through the moss from Cardross to Boquhaple with Andrew Ure, a tenant of my brother's.

22d.—I met with Andrew Turner, who came this week from Edinburgh: he confirmed me of the truth of Monmouth's defeat, and told me that both he and the Lord Grey were now apprehended, so that now all things seemed to be at the will of those in power, and there seemed to be few in Britain who would appear for the Protestant interest in opposition to their popish and tyrannical designs, especially seeing so few in Scotland embraced the opportunity of appearing for their religion and liberty, with that party that came from Holland to Scotland for that effect, or with Monmouth in England, those of Scotland being scattered, and Argyle their chosen general executed at Edinburgh, that same being now the lot of Monmouth and those with him: it's true Argyle went through little except the Highlands of Scotland, yet to my knowledge these (both gentlemen and others) that were advertised, and had the opportunity, slighted it, but its said some had exceptions against the heads of these parties, especially against Monmouth. In Scotland these that were strictest that way, or in these things, had generally agreed to join with Argyle's party. One of their chief objections having been the not naming in the declaration Presbytery, as the Church Government which they would own, which government was designed and clearly understood by their owning and appearing for the work of reformation and covenants, and those who were oppressed for owning Presbytery now 25 years and their utter renouncing of Prelacy, it was thought best to keep that in generall, the quarrel being now clearly stated—Protestant and Papist—some English people concerned were also humoured a little in this. Its true the hearts of many godly, both in England and elsewhere, could never join perfectly with Monmouth and Lord Grey, because of their former personal wickedness, having as yet seen no convincing evidence of their repentance or sincerity, and right aiming at God's glory in what they did now undertake.

23d.—Yesternight, or this morning early, I came to Ballinton, and stayed in a room with Mr. Thomas Forrester,

who had been there several days. John Lamb, the gardner, who had the keeping of that empty lodging, being prevailed with, I stayed there with Mr. Forrester.

There came an express from Edinburgh to inform us of a party of soldiers who were to search this country.

I went to Boquahple with Mr. Forrester, to his house, to meet Mrs. Magdalen Erskine, who was come from the east and going to Cardross. I was again pressed to go east, but hearkned not to that motion, least by being there I should be deprived of understanding the motions of those who intended the recovery of their religion and liberty.

24th.—Having understood by a letter from a friend at Glasgow, that notwithstanding of several stops, yet the design continued so far as to attempt something that was honourable. My answer to the person that had this account, I said it was fit we knew what was designed by them, and by what means, and particularly to know the gentlemen and ministers concerned, and that if it had not been that I waited upon that affair I had gone east before this. I desired particularly to know if Sir Patrick Home was concerned in it, taking him to be an honest and understanding gentleman. This morning I came back to Ballinton.

25th.—I stayed still in Ballinton, having access to go to the closs, but not without. I read a letter to the author of *Jus Populi Vindicatum*, by Mr. Gil. Burnet, the naughtiness of which letter is sufficiently proven by James Stewart's answer.

26th.—I did hear Mr. Thomas Forrester exercise several times.

The Lady Ardvorlich, my only cousin-german by my father, came to Ballinton where I was, and stayed Mr. Forrester's exercise, having come without her husband's knowledge while he was at the church, a man for those times, whom she married against her friends' will. I did observe some tokens of her kindness, tho there had been some differences betwixt her and her friends. I went to Mr. Forrester at Boquahple, at night, and dispatched John M'Vicker home, whom my Lady had sent west for me, and to inform me of hazard. I was troubled to hear of the anxiety she was in for me.

27th.—I stayed still in Ballinton, and did read on Naphtali,

and was edified by Mr. Forrester's company, whose life was becoming the Gospel, meditating and praying being his great work ; he fasted frequently.

28th.—The country did now seem to be much in quiet, but Papists did look out too briskly, by their avowed and frequent meetings, to expect any continued peace before a greater stroke. There was many arms found hid by papists at Wrights houses near Edinburgh. This night I left Mr. Forrester in Ballinton, (John Lamb having desired me to come back there when I pleased) and came with John Miller, my guide, to Janet Gillies's barn, where I found Kipdarroch ; we did with some difficulty find a wadeable place in the water, not knowing the ford. I did now many ways discern the Lord's goodness to me, how travelling in the dark and in unknown ways, he directed me, and how He did find me out those whom I needed, without our being discovered to enemies, and doing these things and whatever was needful for me with far less difficulty and pains than I could propose, which mercies are not to be thought on without a thankfull and savory remembrance, and yet alas, even then, my sins were many, which made me doubt much of my sincerity in seeking God and closing with him by faith.

29th.—I was now desirous to know if our friends in other parts of the country did continue to attempt something for religion suddenly, and if they did, how soon it might come to action, and if it was delayed a while I thought of going east, as I was desired, that being private there, I might have some time to read.

My good-sister had now got letters out of Carolina from my brother, giving account that 27 of those who went in the ship with him were dead, occasioned chiefly (as was thought, and that rationally) by their ill usage at sea, getting little meat or drink, and what they got being for most part rotten herrings and corrupt water. My brother had a long fever and was recovered, and that they were now building a town in Portroyal called Stuarts Town. He expected his Lady over, but I hope he may or shall see her in Scotland first.

My Mother's trouble was now greater than ever, there being both poynding and caption out against her for not paying a fine, imposed by the Sheriff of Fife, for her not going to

church, some messengers having searched Torrie house for her. That which I desire is that the Lord would give her grace to be honest for Him, not regarding worldly losses, and walk stedfastly in his way, not yeilding in any thing which is but an appearance of evil to those who are enemies to the cross of Christ, and wait for the halting of his people; and that the Lord would give her strength patiently to bear his afflicting hand, give her health under this trouble, and in due time relieve her of her troubles. I wrote to her thus with John M'Vicker,—I am truely concerned and troubled anent the anxiety I hear you are put in by your thoughts of my present trouble and hazard. Any inconveniences or bit of trouble I have been as yet trysted with have been easy to me, for which I praise the Lord who hitherto has done great things for me, and He whose cause it is, is able sufficiently to furnish me with strength to encounter the worst of tryals, yea even or death, if I suffer aright for him. Its not suffering, but sin and the wrath of God due for sin, which I fear most. This ought to be our great concern, to put sin far away and suffer patiently the Lord's correcting hand, searching and trying out our ways that we may know wherefore he contends with us, and turn again unto the Lord. I added, with other particulars, it was like they would be few whom God would honour to give a testimony upon scaffolds, in respect of those who were like to be cut off otherways before the end of those calamities.

30th.—This day Alison Crighton came to me, having brought a letter from William Cleland to me, which I think fit to insert, being anent the business in hand, it was as follows:—Sir,—I wrote to Mr. Ure last week, and had an intention to have written or sent to you before this, but various unexpected accidents engaged me to delay. Mr. Barc—, Mr. Lang—, Mr. Fullarton, and severall others your acquaintance are together. They desire that yourself, Mr. Foster, Mr. Bruce, and Mr. Ure, to whom you may communicate this line, may also meet with us, that we and others may resolve upon something rational. We have been doing what we can, and are of the judgement we may by God's assistance endeavour somewhat suitable to our circumstances, which we shall concert with you at meeting: Dated Glasgow, 25th July 1685: signed—

Will. Cleland. This in it relates chiefly to the business. Having got this letter at night, I left Janet Gillies's barn, and with her son, John Gourlay, I came to Ballinton, and missing Mr. Forrester there, I went to his own house and found him, and having got his mind in the matter, I came to Shirkarton's house, and from that to Gribloch, with James Livingston, then to Duncan Cristall's, and next back again to Gribloch, before the sun was up. Within a little Shirkarton came where I was; I walked about eight miles in all.

31st.—I stayed in Gribloch with Shirkarton and Robert Forrester, a Kippen man, who came from Holland with us. About midnight Mr. Thomas Forrester came to Gribloch.

The last week my Lord Dumbarton, General of York's forces, went to London, his brother the Duke of Hamilton, as was said, being there also; the general was a professed papist. There was fifty prisoners taken to Edinburgh from the south and west, the ordinary prison houses were so throng at Edinburgh that they put many prisoners in other houses.

This week Mr. John Campbell, Argyle's son, did render himself to the Chancellour, he alledging he had been waiting on his father, he got his choice of Stirling and Dumbarton Castles, having chosen Stirling, where he was prisoner at present. Mr. Charles Campbell, Argyle's son, was taken prisoner from Glasgow to Edinburgh, with about thirty other prisoners.

(AUGUST 1st, 1685, Saturday.)—We got advertisement from Stirling that there was a company of foot come there, who were to search this country for Mr. Thomas Forrester and me. I went with Mr. Forrester, Shirkarton, etc., to Humphray Stevenson's in Balglass, in Killearn parish.

2d.—I heard Mr. Forrester exercise severall times, and preach upon Malachi 3. 2. There was about 30 persons hearing him.

3d.—Speaking with some others anent the too great neglect of prayer and worship among professors, I went from them, and prayed in the fields, and searching for such Psalms and other places of Scripture as might incite to acknowledge and mourn for sin, and confessing my sins. I was now very desirous, and frequently moved, to repent and mourn over my sins, desiring

of the Lord that he would help me to put sin far away, and to kill sin in my body, that I might live to Christ and keep a guard on my heart, that sin might not enter in ; and in case sin prevailed (which through the Lord's grace and strength I design to prevent) that I might be engaged by him to mourn over it, repenting sincerely, and have access to a throne of grace for pardon conform to his promise to sinners and my engagements to Him.

I [was a] while at the fishing in Endrick water, which is rich in trouts.

*4th.*—Having, with James Bruce, Kennet's brother, Shirgarton, Robert Rannie, John Graham, in Ledluven, Humphrey Stevenson, set this day apart, that we might fast and pray and mourn before God for our own sins and the sins of the land, and that the Lord would yet return and make Scotland's blessing the setting up of his blessed Gospel in it, we kept this day from morning till a little before sunset, desiring also that the Lord would give his people counsel what to do now after they had fallen several times before their enemies. They did now seem to be very unable to act against enemies so as to be in a probable capacity to prevail, but the Lord is able and mighty to save his people: whatever their weakness be, he can add strength or do without them,—the eyes of the Lord run to and fro throughout the whole earth to show himself strong in the behalf of those whose heart is perfect towards him, 2d Chron. 16. 9.

*5th.*—About midday I left Humphreys, and came through Kippen Moor with James Livingston, my guide, to Arthur Dougall's, where I stayed till night, there being little hazard to travel the moor in daylight. I came with John M'Vicker to Cardross, crossing at Polder boat, where Arthur left me. I stayed in the fields till morning, and then came in to the house.

*6th.*—My good-sister went for Edinburgh, designing for Torrie this night. She was to try anent ships going to Carolina, my brother having wrote for her; Mrs. Magdalen Erskine was with her. This week I sent to Glasgow, but received no answer from Will. Cleland or Mr. L., they being some where from the town. There was a frequent and running report that Monmouth was neither executed nor taken, and I

had it from Glasgow in a line from a good hand that he was yet alive. There were now so many lies going that we be-hooved to suspend judging of all reports untill time confirmed such as were true. At night I went out to the fields and lay.

7th.—After daylight I came in to the house. Andrew Ure was with me, it rained on us in the night. I observe that ministers, or any other persons whose proper work it is, and who by their places and in their stations ought to edify and be exemplary to others in their lives, ought also to be very carefull not to give any ground of offence at them, least thereby they and their offices and their ministry be made useless and despised, but should rather yeild to the humours of others in things indifferent and meerly civil, being very humble and curteous, but not complimenting, least all be suspected. Paul became all things to all men. I have observed very little in the carriage of ministers make others take exceptions, so as the offence taken came too near making them hatefull, and their gifts and graces useless to the offended, and yet little or no ground of offence given; on the other hand, people ought to guard against such a temptation of the devil as taking or keeping up groundless offence, which frequently has very sad effects, especially when it tends to the casting at ministers by disowning them and their ministry, which, alas, is a great part of Scotland's sin at this time; and lay aside all such groundless prejudice, yea, and not offend at a man's gifts and graces, and the ordinances of God, because of his sin and personal failing, without a declared scandall, or otherways upon very solid grounds, which is little regarded by many now, more offending or rather humouring themselves by keeping up a groundless prejudice, if well searched, and when there is ground, not using the gospel means to reclaim. I stayed in the house all day, and went not out at night: I read a while.

8th.—I came from Cardross through the moss to Boquhaple with Andrew Ure, and then to Ballinton with John Miller, where was Mr. Forrester. I was ill, or rather well, wet with a continued rain all the way, being weary with coming through the moss by going deep in it, sometimes not going the ordinary way; being thus a little toiled, I was moved to impatience by reflecting on my coming away, suggesting that by this present

indisposition I might be incapacitated to go about the duties of a Sabbath next day, and that tho I was designed to keep it with Mr. Forrester, yet I ought rather to have stayed privately where I was than be thus indisposed for any duty. This temptation prevailed severall times, yet the Lord was pleased to help me not to continue so, but to reflect upon myself, and be content to endure what He laid on, looking to him for support, while yet I was tempted to fret more, desiring I might be fitted for the work of his day: this was a small trouble to make me distrust the Lord's helping me to sanctify his Sabbath, if I did but aright aim at his glory in seeking after the more publick duties of his day. This day I wrote to Mrs. King, of Glasgow, that she might forward to me an account from those persons I wrote to, W. C. having sent no answer to us this week as he promised. I longed to hear from those persons what they and others were doing, that so I might be some way determined, and not continue in the uncertainty I am now in.

9th.—I heard Mr. Forrester exercise several times. The Lord was pleased to give me a sight of yesterday's sins, and to help me to look to him for pardon, and aim at sincerity in going about the duties of the day, so as to make my heart glad in Him: O that the Lord would help me always to be thankfull to Him, and rejoice over all his mercies to me.

10th.—This night I left Ballinton, and came to Boquhaple with Mr. Forrester, and stayed in a barn near his house.

11th.—John M'Vicker came west with a horse for me, that I might go east, my Lady having wrote to me under another name as follows:—Dear —, Any that intends to move, it were fit they were yet to wait for an occasion. Its hard to give advice. The only wise Lord is able to determine hearts what course to take in this strait. I hope you are busy seeking the Lord's direction, ye should strive against melancholy, and be satisfyed with retiredness for a time; for if persons be preserved from danger, spending their time well in secret, idleness will not be imputed to you as your sin, and the Lord can well make up the want of a little time. We have been a sinfull people, and have indeed great cause to be humble, and patiently to wait on God for an outgate, for He knows the

impatience and vanity of man, so that he cuts off all occasion of glorying in man, for He is a jealous God, and will not give his glory to another. If there were more faith He would do more for his people's outgate, for He who is infinite in power can work his work without means.

12th.—This night I came with Mr. Forrester from Boquhaple to Chamerstoun, in Perth's land, being Robert Gourlay's house, and stayed together there all night, designing to go east with John M'Vicker the next day, having got no account from the west tho I detained the lad waiting for it.

13th.—When I was in Kilearn with Mr. Forrester, I observed that those who had been most noted and eminent professors, and had gone to the Kirk among the first, and some gone greater lengths by taking oaths and otherways, were now, when their minister came among them, ashamed to appear and look as others,—some not appearing, others when they came having no face to look up as others, using what means they could to ingratiate themselves, and yet continuing in their former course, which I thought no good sign in them; and few of them, which is very sad, I thought, sought after or was desirous of a minister or preaching among them. I left Mr. Forrester in Robert Gourlay's, and came to Janet Gillies's barn, having got notice from Alison Crighton that there was a letter from Glasgow to me, which she had sent to Cardross, not knowing where I was. I delayed my going east this night that I might get the letter.

14th.—This was very rainy weather. I waited for the letter till night, but got it not, tho it was sent for by two persons. This delay troubled me, seeing my Lady had sent for me, and knowing that she would much concern herself in John M'Vicker's delaying to go east; on the other hand I was unwilling to go east before I had seen that letter, least it might require my staying some longer.

15th.—This morning I came east with Thomas Morison, Capdarroch's man, having come away before day light. I crossed Forth in James Willison's boat at Craigforth Mills, James and his son James having testified their kindness beyond what I could expect, having never known them before. Then I went by the Bridge of Allan, and came to Alexander Dick-

son's house, a tenant of Mar's, a little below the Craig mill, about eight o'clock. John McCicker, having the pounie, came by the bridge of Stirling. Alexander Dickson was extraordinary kind, troubling himself too much in showing his respect. I met with John Christie in the Hood, who provided a horse for me. If ever the Lord put me in a capacity to be usefull and serve my generation, I ought not to forget the kindness and respects of honest men to me, who to serve me have put all they had in hazard. As [for] myself, my design of the Lord has been and is, that he would be pleased to prevent my being the occasion of any persons' trouble any manner of way, and if they were troubled that the Lord would help them to be honest for him, and not to sin and repine at his dispensations. After sunset I came on horseback from Alexander Dickson's, with John McCicker, straight through Alva to John Wright's in the Bauds in Culross moore, and from that on foot to Culross, having gone privately in to David Mitchell's house about midnight.

16th.—I was alone and went about duty with delight, finding that to be frequent and earnest in prayer and performing other parts of our duty, is the best way to get a good frame, and when obtained to continue so, and to put away every wearying of duty or of the Lord's day.

17th.—I did hear from my mother, she came not as yet where I was, least it should discover my being here. Mrs. Magdalen Erskine came from Torrie to Esther's.

18th.—My aunt, the Lady Innergelly, came to see me. She was a very affectionate friend, my sister Mag. was with her.

The letter I had from Glasgow the last week was as follows, it being from Mrs. King :

Sir, I know you are troubled, and truely it has troubled me not a little that no word has come from those persons; if it had come I would not have neglected to have sent to you. It seems there is something come in their way that has hindered, or without doubt one would have been here or now. I saw some that were with them at their meeting, who say that the ministers did not agree, so they parted, Mr. B. went to Edinburgh, and Mr. Robert and Mr. Cl. went west, but till one come from them I will not know what place, so your letters are

here yet undelivered. I cannot think but Mr. B. will send word to Mr. F. how matters is. So I doubt not but very shortly ye will have a more full account of all. Dun. Carr, Kersland, is recovering, and has his love to you and James Crighton.

I thought fit to set down this letter, because it relates to that business I had been waiting upon and concerned in, I being desirous not to go east or off the country, so long as I thought there might and would be a joint course taken at home, wishing that I and all others might be helped to know and do our duty.

19th.—This day John Burns was a while with me, and we prayed together. This night my kind mother came to David's where I was. I bless the Lord I have such a godly sympathizing mother, and who had been so carefull in looking after the good education of her children.

20th.—I had now set apart the next day for prayer, that I might mourn over my sins, which, alas, are many, and do yet presumptuously increase, calling aloud for true humiliation and repentance, with a forsaking of them and turning unto God, and look to God for counsel, that I may be directed by Him what to do and how to move at this time.

21st.—That which I did keep this day chiefly for, was that the Lord might give me counsel what to do at this time, least I should be in ways of my own, and that, accordingly, my motions either in or going out of this country might be ordered by the Lord. My earnest desire is that the Lord would help me to be doing my duty now, and that whereby I might be most usefull in my generation, by advancing the Lord's interest and walking in his ways with a perfect heart while on the earth. O that I could aim at his glory aright in going about every duty, and in seeking after the good of my own soul, and the blessings that are promised by him to his people.

There being company with my Lady this afternoon, I was necessitated for some [time] to ly quiet, being in the room immediately above her. Hearing Doctor Isaac insist much in his discourse against the Presbyterians and their practice, as contrary to the practice of the Christians of old, in reference to taking up arms in defence of religion or against the magistrate, his discourse troubled me in the time, tho neither sound

divinity nor reason when considered right. I had Lex Rex by me, and did look him, who satisfied me in severall particulars of that nature at that time.

22d.—I did see a monstrous bird this day, which came of a hen's egg, which another hen, seeing among the other chickens, run upon it and killed it with her neb. It had four feet and four wings like the feet and wings of other hens, the two formest wings were just above the two foremost feet, and so it was with the other wings and feet: it had a great head, and was like a corbe or raven. It being very young, and now about a month dead, I could not well discern its other parts and feathers; its head was very broad, being bruised—Henderson keeping it always upon him for a show, getting money for the sight of it. It was clocked in John Adies in the parish of Torrie.

I met with William Sythrum, who came where I was the night before this. Before we came from Amsterdam he was ordered home to give Edinburgh and Fife advertisement of our coming, which he did timously in the beginning of May, not without some probability of success.

23d.—I stayed the Sabbath in Esther's, John Burn having been with us in duty. There came a message from Lady Prestonhall, my cousin, at Coupar, to inform my Lady of a design to apprehend her the morrow, and arrest the farms. This made both my Lady and me leave Esther's, fearing it might be searched, my Lady using frequently there. My Lady went privately to the Abbey, and I to Will. A— where Will. Sythrum was.

24th.—I read upon Durham on the Revelation, wherein I delighted much. My sister Veronica came to see me but stayed not, Charles Preston and his sister Mary, who knew nothing of my being here, waiting for her return. This night my Lady Kincardine came home to the Abbey, having been at the Court at London with her daughter Ochiltree's Lady.

25th.—This day Ramsay, now Bishop of Ross, left Culross with his family, having stayed in Culross, and received stipend as second minister now about a year, if not more, after he was Bishop of Ross, and having received both the minister's stipend of Culross, for severall years before, when he was Bishop of Dumblain.

26th.—I went not out of the house this day. The Commissioner Queensbury was now gone to Court some days ago, he being now this year opposite to Perth, Chancellour, as he was with Aberdeen, Chancellour the last year, forking against one another, he that was most violent against Presbyterians standing fastest in the Court's favour, or rather now those that were declared and violent Papists.

27th.—Many who had gone with the forces against those who came in to the country for defence of religion, as gentlemen and others, did now pretend that they waited only for an opportunity to join with those they did appear against, otherways they would fly; thus they thought to stand fast and be in favour with both parties, which really ought rather to make them hatefull to both, especially considering that some who said so now had no ways formerly kythed friendly to the Presbyterians who did then appear, nor yet after, but still complying to the full with every wicked course; which declared how deceitfull and indifferent people were grown in matters of no less concernment to them then their religion and liberty, by a slavish fear of man and love to estates, so that unless the Lord in his goodness prevent it, this people in Scotland, yea all Britain and Ireland, will be enslaved both in soul and body. O that God would give his people to repent and do their first work, and to recover their first love, from which they have suddenly strayed. Some who were violently hurried out by the enemies' fury, when those with Argyle crossed Leven, as those who were taken to the park of Stirling, out of Perth, Stirling, and going as far as Innerkeithing in Fifeshire, did resolve to go towards Cardross, when they heard Argyle was [to] be, severall hundreds, as I was certainly informed, being resolved after their receiving arms to break off to the west, but were prevented by the break of that party. When all the country people and others who were able to bear arms were taken to Stirling, they had staves for their arms, hardly having a sword among a hundred. It was sad to see such as wished well to true religion and their country appear in the enemies' camp, which is more than to look on their brother's calamity, etc. Truely those may be affraid when they think upon the curse pronounced against such. When I read in Durham on the Revelation peoples having a

call to follow one employment more than another, and of the way how to know the Lord's mind in this, which he insists on particularly in the handling of that question concerning a calling to the ministry, and clearness therein, before my reading of which I sought of God that he would give me to know his mind to me in reference to that, my mind for some years being confused with the thoughts of this, and never able positively to fix so as not to have an inclination otherways, my will going much contrary to my inclination in that which I had been following, being inclined when abroad not to make law my only study, but to join it with the study of Divinity, which I was now fully resolved to study if I were at a colledge abroad, or where the Lord should tryst me to be, and wait upon God for further direction as to what I should follow. Thow knows O Lord I have dedicated myself to thee and thy service for ever, be thow therefore pleased to direct and let me know what service thou calls me to, and how upon earth I may most advance thy glory, by doing in thy strength that which is right before thee with a perfect heart, and that through Christ, and faith in him, after this life I may reign with thee for ever.

28th.—Adam Stobie of Wester Luscar was a while in William's; he durst not stay at his own house, the messengers searching for him there this week and before, poinding and pursuing him only for not going to church, tho his son had for several years bygone been infest in his land. I was a while with honest Adam.

29th.—This night I came from William's house to Esther's, where my mother was, who severall days ago had given me a good caution against the needless and shameless differences and debates thats keeped up among professors in this place, who do yet own one persecuted cause. It is indeed a great matter and good to carry aright betwixt both parties so differing, so as to offend none, and yet keep a good conscience. We are too ready to comply with and connive at without noticing the faults of others, especially of professors, that we may but get our own ends effectuated and keep fair with all; and tho it be not the part of every one to reprove, yet there is a difference betwixt reproving and a consenting to or conniving at that

which is not right in another, and saying as they say without controul.

30th.—I stayed in Esther's all day; John Burn was with us a while. David Mitchell, the master of the family, knew nothing of my being here, never almost rising out of his bed, keeping his health indifferently, but sorely broken in his judgment, and much decayed in his former dilligence of going about his duty to God, having little delight in such discourses or any exercise that tended to his soul's edification. As his cause deserved pity of all, so it was a notable example and warning to all to make earnest of religion while they have time, and aim at a more than formall way of going about duty, that they may begin that work aright with a true conviction of and serious repentance for all their sins, of every kind and degree, and so have their religion and faith built upon the right foundation, and placing their hope and confidence in Christ alone, without which none can see God's face in mercy. The Lord may, for his wise and mercyfull ends, be hiding his face from him for a while. Its good to be living near God in duty at all times, and whatever our other lawfull business be, to have our desires bent upon Him alone; for if once He withdraw his help and refuse to be seen of his people in mercy, who can then stand alone and not run into sad extremes? Help, Lord, to practise aright what thou art pleased to discover to me to be duty.

31st.—I was now looking over some papers I left behind when I went abroad, which I read with satisfaction. Many noblemen and others were now gone and going to court, making two factions, one of Queensberry the Commissioner, the other for Perth the Chancellour. By their absence the country was in a greater quiet (except what trouble was in some parts of the west, occasioned by their enemies pursuing some few who had lurked there since the break, and had ventured to have preaching in publick some time) than could have been expected after the enemies prevailing both in Scotland and England over those who had appeared against them. The Lord, who makes every thing to work for the good of his people, can restrain the wrath of man when and how he pleases.

After the Duke of York's assuming the government, and when he had fixed himself in it through the kingdoms, by the means of those men he had formerly fixed in places of trust during his brother's reign, far contrary to his former practice, which was to conceal his principles all he could by causing punish those who called him Papist, that for his principles he might not be secluded from the crown by being able to prove he was a papist, he then appears to the world in his own shape of papist, not only by going publickly to mass, but by underhand tolerating and conniving at the meetings of and insolent speeches of all assuming that name, and not content to enjoy those principles alone by having a chappell for his own use, he begins to fill the greatest places of trust with papists, and place popish generals and other inferiour popish officers over the armies, thinking no doubt to get heaven by a work so meritorious as the reducing of three kingdoms to the Pope. After this his unpolitick zeal, many people who had carried towards his government with a kind of indifference, began to discover their fears of him and of popery, especially since the break of these who did appear in arms for the preventing of popish slavery. Some were speaking more freely and openly of their fears of this kind, tho formerly unconcerned how such matters went, or if concerned, it was chiefly to the prejudice of those who suffered for religion. That which Mr. Robert Wright, curate of Culross, said out of the pulpit, may confirm this, who on the 13th day of August last, being the thanksgiving day appointed by the Council for their victory over their enemies (meaning those that came with Argyle), said,— It being now clearly perceived how religion began to decay and be still under greater bondage, by the cruelty and oppression used against those who refused to go to church, and subject to or acknowledge the ministry of Diocesan and Erastian bishops or their curates, did still own and adhere to the non-conforming Presbyters and ministers, who had been banished from their flocks after the late King's coming home, as the only lawfull ministry of the church of Scotland ; and after many or all except very few, had gone to church, yet that did not satisfy, but bonds and oaths acknowledging the King's supremacy in church matters, and other things, were imposed, and a more

strict compliance required, which bred murmurings and discontent to all tender consciences, yea to all who were not of debauched consciences, who did now greatly rejoice and insult over the ruins of religion. The gentlemen and heritors were through the country perswauding the people that there was no such ground to fear the innovation of religion by introducing of popery as they apprehended, and so would some curates alledge, yet Edmondston of Kilmadock, in Menteath, was, out of the pulpit, extenuating the differences betwixt the Protestants and Papists, alledging they might be easily reconciled. Men's thus differing in their minds and affections anent the present state of affairs, all seemed to prognosticate great confusion and ruin to Britain and Ireland.

(SEPTEMBER 1<sup>st</sup>, 1685, Tuesday).—Charles P—— being where I was, I spoke to him. My Lady had employed him (thinking I would shortly go off the country) to procure a pass for [me], which he did under the name of John Bruce, from Tarbart, the Register. But if I went away I thought and chose rather to go privately without a pass. I came this night to William's, where I found and spoke to Will. Boyd and —— Smith: they had lately with some others escaped out of Dunnottar prison. Will. B. was much concerned in the doing of these people that followed Mr. Rannie. Smith was he who had been rescued when Murray of the King's Guard was killed at Inchbelly Bridge in June 1683.

2d.—William my landlord, going over the water, and designing to be at Blackness, I desired him to ask Mr. Will. Erskine's advice anent going off the country. I was now too little fixed at any particular business or reading, seeing I might have books and did not move much.

3d.—Will. returned and told me that Mr. Erskine's opinion was that I ought to go off the country, and others also in the like hazard, tho others he thought might stay. There was in prison 166 men and women at Dunnottar, for not complying with the present church government, and not taking such bonds and oaths as were imposed on them. 25 made their escape, but being presently in haste searched for, 15 were retaken, some of those who were reapprehended being miserably

tortured by having lighted matches put betwixt their fingers untill they were disabled of their hands. All that were in Dunnottar, except those who were sick, were now brought back and disposed of otherways, many of them being banished, and gifted to Scot of Pitlochie, who was now in a few days to sail for Jersey in America. Mr. Archibald Riddell, who was prisoner in the Bass, having got his liberty that he might go with him, was now shipped with his family, several gentlewomen and others having gone voluntarly. Lord Neill Campbell sailed about a month ago to the same place, having got a considerable number of prisoners gifted him by the Council.

4th.—David Walker, who stayed privately in Balgownie's family, was this night where I stayed. Will. Sythrum went for Cliesh. There was now many noblemen and others at court, as the Duke of Gordon, and the Earl of Dumbarton (who were both papists, having much power at court), Duke Hamilton, the Marquis of Douglas, the Earl of Strathmore, Sir William Bruce, now Viscount of Kinross.

5th.—Having formerly some expectation to expect a ship near this, wherein I might go off the country privately, I got now notice that the person concerned had given warning that there should be no more mention of it, it being now made too publick, least greater hazard should follow. Thus I seemed to be dissapointed of two very promising occasions of going off, another offer, which I had further east, having in some respect failed. But I must wait; and I wish I may know how to construct aright of every dispensation.

6th.—I stayed in William's all day, there being none but the family with us.

7th.—William's son John, being at the other side, brought me word that the former occasion was like to do for me still, the person who had made it publick knowing nothing of it now.

8th.—Ch. P—— was with me a while, with Mrs. Magdalene Erskine. This night I was writing letters to the west.

9th.—J. P. brought me the acts of the late Parliament bound together, there being about 50 of them. I was now making ready for my going off the country, tho my inclination was not to go, in case any business of the nature of that for which I

came might have occurred; but now after I had waited more than two months, unwilling to yeild to any motion of going away, that I might take one course with others who were concerned in the same cause, I found still less ground to expect that or any other business that might require my staying, especially when I considered with these how I was called now to follow my book, when and where I might do it to the best advantage. I am therefore resolved to yield to the desire of friends, who have much pressed me to this motion, and I do incline in that case to take the first opportunity for going off, least my lingering prove not only prejudicall to myself by being here idle and to no purpose in respect of what I am called to, but to others by their intertaining of and corresponding with me, having also the advice of Mr. Th.— and others, and the example of some who were gone before me.

10th.—I got this day a very kind and affectionate letter from my good-sister, she having always been so to me. In answer to mine she did press me to haste away. Mr. Da. Walker was a while in William's.

11th.—J. P. and David Mitchell, gardner in the Blair, was a while with me. I took farewell of my sister Veronica. I left William's and came to Esther's this night.

12th.—I was busy this day putting up some papers and books.

This night, when it wes dark, I parted with my dear mother, who by her carriage and expressions did appear to be, as indeed she was, a tenderly affectionate kind and sympathysing mother. Mrs. Magdalen Erskine was there, with severall others. I came from Culross with William Sythrum, and from that was carried over the water by Robert Clow and Will. Hutton in a boat, the Iron mill boat, which accidentally, I may rather say providentially, was there at that time, no boatmen there knowing of our passing. We landed below the wind-mill, and came to John Melvill's relict's house, where we lodged.

13th.—We stayed in the family, hearing no preaching. Mrs Potter was with us a while. I went out a while at night when it was dark.

14th.—Mar. Bourne, who had come from my mother, was with us; Will. Paton and Will. Sythrum's son were with us.

There was now new proclamations published, with many of the names of those persons who had been concerned in the last rising in arms against those in authority, and their abuse of it. I heard my name was not in them as yet, tho otherways publick.

15th.—Will. Melvill, who had been employed to deal for getting me privately taken to Holland, without the knowledge of the skipper and most of the company, was with us.

Perth the Chancellour, being sent for, was now gone up to court.

16th.—Da. Erskine, as he was going to Blackness to Mr. William, being upon the way, came in to the house where I was. Having willingly discovered myself to him, he stayed a while and then went on in his way. Walter A. who was to keep us hid in the ship, came about midnight, and carried us into the ship lying in the road, they designing to sail the next day if the wind were fair. She is a ship of above three hundred tons.

17th.—This week brought in rainy and windy weather, tho formerly it had been fair harvest weather. There was only four ship boys or prentices in the ship, beside Will. Sythrum and myself. The southerly wind blew so hard that they were necessitated to let fall the great sheet-anchor.

18th.—This day was also very stormy, so that there was no crossing here in ferry boats, tho falling something calm at night, some of the shipmen came aboard to right the ship. Before they came, William and I went to the hold among the coals, there being among them who were not to know of us. They stay'd several hours, and then went all back. I find the good work of doing the will of God, delighting in his law, and banishing sin and everything hatefull to him, is strongly opposed by our wicked natures, and the law of our members, which powerfully resists my inclination leading to hate sin and bring forth the fruits of a new life; that wicked inclinations, being our very nature, is ready at all times to lay hold upon every, yea and the least, advantage, whereby our souls may be enslaved for ever, while we are not aright and watchfully guarding our hearts against sin and keeping our minds stayed upon God. O but it be difficult to keep free,

both of sin, especially those sins we are most inclined by nature, and self confidence, at one and the same time. When sin is at any time banished for a while, I find humility goes too frequently with it, then self-confidence with pride and security takes place, all which usher in and make way for sin. It might prove a good help against the prevailing power of sin if we were aright living under the sense of bygone sins, by a sincere and constant repentance, and daily recovery from under the power and slavery of sin, by aiming at more and more grace holiness and perfection in the ways of the Lord, having our sins allways before us, and looking on them with a mourning eye, and not hiding them in our bosom, or deceiving ourselves by thinking they are forgotten of God because we forget them, and pardoned by Him because of an old date. Thus I find (when the most common sins have been for some time banished) the temptation goes on, and by degrees grows up to security, pride and self-estimation, untill sin prevail, which gives new and real ground of humiliation. When we are not humbled out of fear least sin prevail, the prevailing of sin will humble us otherways by security. Our case is not right: its good when our prevailing over sin and continuing so, makes us still more humble and watchfull against its assaults, least when we rely more upon our own strength than the Lord's, he makes us to know we are but weak and sinfull creatures by withdrawing his help and leaving us to be led captive by our sinfull inclinations untill we know we are but men, and acknowledge him aright. O that the Lord would keep me humble otherways than by leaving me thus to be overcome by sin.

19th.—I was still in the ship quiet, having little occasion to divert me from my duty, yea rather a fit opportunity to go about the trying my ways if they were agreeable to the word of God, the only true rule whereby our thoughts inclinations and actions ought to be tryed. Lord help me to search and try them out accordingly with good success, and hold thou up my goings in thy paths that my footsteps slip not. Psa. 17. 5.

We had liberty to go through the ship, there being none in the ship but the boys, who knew of us.

20th.—Will. Sythrum exercised in the ship. There was an Ostender ship near us that sailed now, having otherways an

unseemly carriage on this day: several other ships and vessels did loose and were sailing in the firth. O how few are they who regard aright the Lord's day, even at home, having it now in their option to sail or not.

I have seen only a sinning time in Scotland, a time of departing from God, wherein a few aiming at sincerity and purity in the worship of God, and contending for the privileges of the church and her officers, and for the prerogative of Christ as her only head and lawgiver, were persecuted by death, torturing, imprisonment, banishment, and fining, and many otherways oppressed as evil doers; and now the house of God is desolate in Scotland, and alas his work is too much forsaken by his own servants.

How desireable would a reviving to the works of the Lord from these evils be: my earnest desire is that the Lord would help me to walk uprightly in all his way while I am upon the earth; and that in my station I may be found testyfying against all the evils committed in the land, and contending valiantly for the truth. Thou knowest, Lord, that I have dedicated myself to thy service for ever; accept of me, in mercy shape my heart for thyself, and for doing that which is right before thee.

21st.—This day, when there was a boat coming, not knowing but the waiters were coming to search the ship, I was locked up in an ambrie in the cabbin, and then the cabbin door was locked. The boy was hardly well gone, and the doors lockt, when Satan assaulted, moving me to break up the door; and presently I was terrified, and in a heat, my thoughts were for a while in confusion, when I looked to the Lord, who alone can bring out of trouble, and ought allways to be made our refuge for relief from this bondage of Satan and fear, and repeated some scripture, and I was at ease and content to continue as I was without grudging.

22d.—I read over the papers betwixt King Charles 1<sup>st</sup> and Mr. Alexander Henderson, concerning the change of the English Church Government from bishops, anno 1646. The weather was still stormy and changeable and less appearance of a fair wind than when we came first aboard. The skipper came aboard, but stayed not, and we went into the sail bed.

23d.—This day was warm and calm, but still no appearance of a fair wind for us. The skipper's wife and others being aboard, we went into the oister den.

24th.—I read, for most part, on Mr. Dickson's *Therapeutica Sacra*, since I came to the ship.

There was of late much talking of a business between the Scots regiment in England and the English soldiers, the Scots contending and craving for the right hand; they did at last fight, there being many more English than Scots killed; it was at Blackheath, within sight of London. Some said it was a design to dispatch those of the English who were not forward for the King, but this will be soon more clearly understood.

25th.—I was still reading Dickson's book, delighting in it, and in going about duty.

26th.—The wind continuing still cross and frequently stormy, we came ashore late this night to our old quarters.

27th.—We stayed in the family, hearing no preaching. David Erskine came from Blackness, being sent for, and stayed a while at night. We got account of a great persecution that was in England, there being severall hundreds executed since Monmouth was taken, and of a great persecution that was in France.

28th.—I expected Mr. Will. — this length from Blackness, but the day was fair. We were necessitated to go aboard this night tho unwillingly, the wind inclining to the west.

29th.—The wind was now again cross. David Erskine came aboard, but could not get stayed long where we was, there being one aboard from whom we were to be hid.

The Parliament was now adjourned for severall months. My mother, as she was going to Edinburgh, came from the ferry to the house I had stayed in; and this night, having sent a boat aboard, I came ashore and was about an hour with her, and then returned to the ship.

Mrs. Margaret Ker came from Blackness with her, and Ch. Preston was with her. I got an account that the sale of my brother's estate was to be the 29th of next month, and my good-sister, being desirous to have Cardross sold under redemption for some years, and to have the house and yards keepeed still, there being too small a price put upon it to let it go from

the family, seeing the rest of the land could be sold in parcels without the house, fully as well for behoof of the creditors as with it, therefore she proposes that 14 or 15 thousand merks of our money might be lifted from Menteath and layed upon Cardross, where it might be well secured. There was also another proposal, for my brother William to marry Gargunnock's daughter, with whom he would get 24000 merks, and her father would advance him ten more in loan, that he might buy Cardross, but he seemed not to be inclined to marry her, for which I know no solid ground as yet.

30th.—The wind being westerly, we loosed about four in the afternoon, when the skipper came aboard in the last boat. He thought it fit we should appear publickly, as if we had come from the Culross side the night before, and that those who had known nothing of my being hid in the ship might have no ground to suspect anything. Will. Sythrum produced to the skipper that pass that had been got for me, tho I knew not of his bringing it over the water, having no intention to make use of it. There was other four ships that loosed this same tide, all bound for Rotterdam.

(OCTOBER 1<sup>st</sup>, Thursday 1685.)—This morning early we passed the Bass, the wind turned very cross this afternoon, so that we only turned to and fro upon the coast betwixt Dunbar and St. Abbs head.

2d.—This morning, being near St. Abbs head, and the wind being still cross and strong, the skipper turned homewards; we came through betwixt the Bass and Tantallan, and afternoon come to an anchor where we had been before, the other four ships being all home before us. Yesterday and night I was sea sick.

3d.—By coming back I was in a strait how to carry yester-night with the passengers, vitz. George the skipper's brother, who did oversee, or had been steward to those prisoners who were left at Orkney 1679, and Bristow in Linlithgow, who had been a trader in England. Being unwilling to go to Borrowstounness side, least I should be engaged in company with them and so discovered, and there being also great difficulty to get gone to the other side and back quietly, so both William and

I stayed in the ship, the passengers knowing nothing but we were to go to the other side. Tho the wind invited to sail, yet none took the opportunity, being unwilling to go on Saturday or till the wind were a while settled the right way.

4th.—I was several times made to think that our being turned home by contrary winds when at sea was a warning to me not to go away, which made me to reflect upon that thought; yet when I had tryed it, I could find no new or solid reasons present themselves upon which I might found a resolution of staying in the country contrary to the former. I desire to wait upon God for direction, and if I be going contrary to him in this or any other particular, I desire he would make me able to know his mind, and willing to do what he enjoins, with humility. O that I might be helped to do that only which is right before him. Fear of suffering, and personal hazard, moves me not to go, but being able to perceive nothing that calls me positively to stay. I think the perfecting of my education by following my book, whereby I may be afterwards made usefull, calls me to go. I stayed in the ship all day, no person having come aboard.

5th.—This morning about seven o'clock we loosed, having a fair wind, seven other Bo'ness ships having loosed at the same time, all bound for Rotterdam. We past betwixt Tantallon and the Bass, and a little after sunset were upsides with Holly Island.

6th.—This day at sunset we were near Tinmouth Castle, which stands upon the sea coast near Newcastle.

7th.—We still kept company wlth the other ships that loosed with us. This night we were not far from the Dogger Bank.

8th.—The wind was now turned south and by east; this was a pleasant and warm day. We spoke and kept company with the other ships. We made but little way all this day, the wind being very cross. I ended the reading over of Dickson's *Therapeutica Sacra*, which I found a very usefull and sound book.

10th.—We had good easy weather, tho the wind was still cross.

11th.—The wind was still cross, being south, and we had exercise in the ship as on other days.

12th.—We had still cross winds but fair weather. We met with some Dutch herring fishers, who told us that Yarmouth was six Dutch miles bewest us.

13th.—We made little way, the skipper, his brother, and Robert Bryson, dined in Andrew Burnside's ship. I find there is great need to guard and resist strongly against all inclinations leading to be selfwilled, and reject the advice of others, tho good and approven by ourselves, only because it was given in such a manner at such a time and by such a person.

14th.—We were near the coast of Holland, but could as yet see no land ; the wind was yet easterly. Yesternight I ended the reading over *The mistery of Astronomy made plain to the meanest capacity*, in 8°, written by William Bagwell. We could not as yet discern land, the day being misty, tho we were but about 6 or 7 leagues from the Maese, which we understood by fishers.

16th.—This morning we perceived the land of Goree from the Breill, and not getting over the dry with the day tide we anchored near Gorie.

17th.—This day we came in over the dry, and there being but little wind and that cross, at night we anchored near the two lights below the Briell, not being able to turn the point without the flood tide.

18th.—This forenoon before our ship loosed, Mr. Bryson, Will. Sythrum, and I, took a scout, least the ship should be long by the way, and about sunset landed at Delphs haven, and from that came on foot to Rotterdam.

I lodged in Charles Reid's.

There is much need to be circumspect in observing the Lord's day, so as not to fail ourselves, and observe with regret the failings of others in that.

19th.—I went through much of the town with Mr. Bryson, I was seeing Mr. John Harrowar, and a while in the coffee house with James Thomson.

20th.—I was seeing Mr. Fleming and Mr. Patrick Verner. I heard Mr. Robert Archibald upon 2<sup>d</sup> Ep. John 8, Look to yourselves, etc.

21st.—I dined in Mr. Fleming's, and was much of this day with Robert Craig, with whom I had been at Edinburgh

Colledge, and who was now going to study the law. I was with him upon the high steeple of Rotterdam, from which Utrecht may be seen, and many other places through the Provinces. There is in it about 36 bells, the greatest near a large fathom over the mouth. I wrote to my brother Charles, who was now at Lunenburgh, designing to be a soldier, there being little encouragement for him to continue a merchant.

22d.—I was seeing Cultness and at night was a while with James Allan, whose passenger I had been.

23d.—I was with James Stewart, who gave me an account of the transactions with Argyle before our going from Amsterdam, and of the small encouragement he had of his prospering, which he freely told himself before his going away, which occasioned my Lord's rejecting his advice, and the outcast betwixt them.

24th.—I was a while with Mr. George Barclay, and with Lockhart of Kirkton, and severall others.

25th.—This day I went not to the church, least my going should make my being here too publick, especially to Robert Baird, the Conservator Depute, and John Loudon, who was thought to be a spy for discovering such as had fled from Scotland, or been of the late appearance there. I thought it fit not to be too publick, seeing I was not designed to stay in this place.

26th.—I was all this forenoon with Mr. George Barclay, who told that after he had left us at Campbelltoun and was in Carrick, they had in that country where he was, 500 men on foot, and 400 of them armed ; and that upon the correspondence they had settled through the country they could have raised near three thousand men upon 30 hours warning, people having come to them by hundreds, but went away for want of arms. I was seeing Mr. Russell, and was with Robert Gibb, James Thomson, his good-son, etc.

27th.—I was with Mr. Thomas Hogg, who was lately come from London, who was a judicious and godly man, and had been in prison in London the last summer. I was with Cultness and his brother James, and was seeing Mr. James Kirkton.

28th.—I was making ready for going to Utrecht, being now resolved to go and study there, tho some were proposing inconveniencys that might attend my being there ; but after

further search I could see no reason to hinder my staying there untill some further enquiry was made after me, or any in my circumstances. I was with Mr. Hogg.

29th.—I was with James Allan, the skipper with whom I came over, and Will. German his mate, and others: they understood now what I was, and named me by name, tho I concealed that from most of them before. I was with John Guthrie, who came over at the same time with me, and with my Lord Colvill, who went under the name of Mr. Robertson.

30th.—I was this afternoon with Mr. Thomas Hogg, and was in Mr. Fleming's, and with Cultness. Mr. Thomas Hogg told me of the small hopes he had of the success of the late undertaking in Scotland for recovery of religion, etc. He thought the clouds would be darker, but that it would not last.

31st.—This day I did see four French Protestant ministers land here from France, with their wives, they having no liberty to bring their children from France. Some of them I thought wanted little of 80 years of age. All Protestants were now sorely persecuted in France, several hundreds were in a few weeks come to this town, and many more to Amsterdam, there being considerably more than an hundred thousand guilders collected there for their behoof. I was with James Stewart.

(NOVEMBER 1st, 1685, the Lord's day.)—I was in the church this day, but sat in a hid place, being unwilling that enemies should see me in so publick a place, to prevent trouble to myself and others.

2d.—I was through the town, buying severall things, with Mr. Andrew Wardrope. After noon I went in a boat with my Lord Colvill and John Guthrie, there being none else in it. We went up two miles to a place where there is an engine for taking boats over a dyke, out of one Graf into another. I was in Mr. Fleming's.

3d.—I was this day writing to Scotland, and staid much within.

4th.—I was at the weekly meeting kept in Mr. Russell's house for preaching and prayer. I was seeing Mr. Thomas

Hogg, Mr. Kirkton, and Cultness, and was with his brother James at night, who advised me not to lurk at Utrecht, but appear and go to the publick schools, yet to carry cautiously. I was much inclined to go to the publick lessons, seeing I came out of Scotland with a design to read, and if I could not safely appear at Utrecht I thought of going to another colledge. I was seeing severall other persons.

5th.—After I had been at Mr. Hogg's, and with Mr. Bruce I came to the Utrecht wind scout about eleven, and waited till after three, at which time we sailed; about eleven at night we came to — which is two hours from Utrecht. I wrote to my brother Charles, with Robert Bryson, who was going first to Amsterdam and then to Lunenburg.

6th.—This morning we came to Utrecht, and went first to my Lord Colvill, who went under the name of Mr. Robertson, his quarters; he, John Guthrie, and I, came all from Rotterdam together.

I was with Mr. William Moncrieff, and Mr. John Sinclair, who stayed both in that same house with my Lord Colvill.

7th.—I was seeing Mr. George Barclay at his own house, and looking out for a chamber for myself, with Mr. John Forrester, or Neilson. I stayed still with my Lord Colvill in his chamber.

8th.—I went not to church this day, least I should be too soon discovered, being desirous that Archibald Monro, a student of law, who was to go away this day, might not know of my being at Utrecht.

9th.—I was this morning at Van Moyden, a professor of law, from whom I designed to have a college of the institutes of the civil law, tho he had ended the first two books. Stewart of Pardiven<sup>1</sup> and I went to the professor together, he gave us some hopes that he would teach us the first two bookees the time of the vacance.

10th.—I entered to the college under Van Moyden, a professor of law. The hour was betwixt eight and nine in the morning. Robert and Gilbert Ramsays, both Scotsmen, were

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<sup>1</sup> Walter Stewart of Pardoven, near Linlithgow. In 1709 he published his useful compend of the laws of the Church of Scotland.

at the same private college of law. I was a while in Gilbert's chamber with them and Pardiven.

11th.—This was a fast day through the Provinces, appointed by the States for preventing the growth of Popery; and I observed it was much better kept than the Lord's day, there being no wandering through the streets nor buying and selling as on the Lord's day. A Dutch woman, who teached a school, being in the house where I was, affirmed that this day ought to be better kept than the Sabbath; her reasons were because the States had appointed this fast day; she cited the 58th of Isaiah. So ready were they to break the Lord's day, there being no civil restraint to hinder the breach of it. The commands of men are obeyed, and the commands of the great King and Governour of all Kings and states slighted. I went little out.

12th.—I was seeing the body of a man anatomized and dissected in a theatre for that end. The man whose body was dissected had some days before (being a soldier) hanged himself in his mistress' handkerchief and his own cravat, she having at that time displeased him or not answered his expectations. I was seeing Mr. Blair, al. Mr. George Barclay.

13th.—There was now no publick lessons during the dissection, which was one hour forenoon and another afternoon. I was there.

On Wednesday night last I entered to my own chamber.

14th.—I was in the fields walking with Robert and Gilbert Ramsays; after that they were in my chamber.

15th.—I did now find much deadness in performing duties; and could not attain to that liveliness wherein the Lord had sometimes blessed me formerly: this I imputed to my not dependance on God in everything, as I ought, and not studying to be in a frame of nearness to God so as to evite all sin and the temptations to it, but leaning too much upon my own ways, particularly anent using means to get stayed in this place, and not be discovered and molested and made to retire suddenly; the way to that was to gain the Ramsays, chiefly Gilbert, who had been making it a doubt if my name was Preston, which was the name I had now taken, so as they might no ways discover my being at Utrecht. I wish the Lord may

help me to carry so in every case and with every one person so as I may keep a confidence in God, and a conscience void of offence towards God and man. I was in the English kirk afternoon, and heard Mr. —, a blind minister, and truely to me his preaching was very dark, if not blind, and others had told me so before.

16th.—I took a walk with Mr. William Moncrief, and at night was seeing the Lady Kersland. Mr. Wilson stayed with me a while at night.

17th.—This day I entered to Mr. John Sinclair, who was to teach me Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, being resolved to revive what I had learned before in the languages, and go on now when I had the opportunity of Mr. Sinclair.

18th.—I was seeing the dissection, and a while upon the walls, with Mr. Robertson and John Telfert, who lodged in the same house with me.

19th.—The dissection ended this day ; it lasted twice every day. I was always at it except on the Lord's day : they had so little regard for that day that they did not only continue the dissection but explained those parts of a man's body which might occasion greatest laughter and disturbance among young men, yea, to all, very unsuitable thoughts for the Lord's day.

20th.—I was hearing Witchius' Divinity lessons, where I found many present, the man being deservedly in great esteem. I was with Mr. John Wilson, and a while in Mr. Robertson's chamber.

21st.—I was afternoon a while with Pardiven, and a while with Robert Black, moderator, and George Wishart.

22d.—I was in the English church, and from the church to a coffee house with the Ramsays, where I stayed about a quarter of an hour, having left the company ; but everything considered it was too much to go there at all on the Lord's day ; some were playing at the dams in it. This day, having come into the room where my landlord was, I perceived he had been at work sewing (he being a taylour), and upon my coming he endeavoured to hide his practise of working on the Lord's day from me ; he was a Lutheran, it was their ordinary to work on that day.

23d.—I was hearing De Frize's publick lesson on the poli-

ticks, and Witchius' publick lesson of divinity. George Fleming, who was lately come from Scotland, was in my chamber; he told me Mr. Langlands was designing, and that he thought Mr. Bruce, Fullarton, Cleland, etc., would leave Scotland.

24th.—I was hearing De Frize and Wittchius: I was at Mr Blair's.

25th.—There was no publick lessons on Wednesday. I did see Westshields, or now Mr. —, who was staying privately in this town. I was at the Lady Carsland's. I was troubled at the spending of this afternoon idly, and with clatters, and speaking in severall companies confusedly and without sufficient deliberation, which is most burthensome when right laid to heart. O that the Lord would help me to consider aright and improve the many directions in Scripture anent rash and much speaking.

O that I were making conscience of every word and deed. If I did so aright, sin might be made a greater stranger to me than it is, and easier overcome.

26th.—I was in Mr. Robertson's chamber with Mr. Wishart, or Pourie, and Mr. Telfert; I heard De Frize's publick lesson of Philosophy. I was with Westshiel.

27th.—I was something concerned to know if the Ramsays understood my circumstances, and how they were disposed now after they had got some ground to suspect me, Pardiven having accidentally (as he told me) named me by my own name to one of them, and then, that he might explain himself, designed me by the name I had newly taken. This night I fell somewhat unwell; Mr. Moncrieff stayed with me all night.

28th.—Afternoon I was a little in the fields with the Ramisays. There was two publick disputes this day, the first defended by James Haddow, a Scotsman, the other by Samuel Mead, an Englishman.

29th.—I heard Mr. Corss, a Scotsman, preach in the English Church, both forenoon and afternoon; at night I heard Mr. Blair in Mr. Haddow's, there was no lecturing in the English church.

30th.—I was in Mr. Moncrieff's with Mr. Blair, and his nephew, a student, Mr. Neilson and Mr. Sinclair. I was in Mr. Robertson's.

(1<sup>st</sup> DECEMBER 1685, Tuesday.)—There came this day two Lyden students, one English and one Irish, both rogues, of whose malice we were affraid. I wrote to Scotland. I was with Mr. Blair and Westshiel. I went little out this day, there being no publick lessons on Wednesdays: the Ramsays were with me; they borrowed money from me. I thought it was a good occasion to get them in my reverence, and oblige them not to discover me to the Leyden students, or any others. We fell to speak of Mr. Cors's sermon, and from that anent the being of God, a subject not to be rashly medled with, and in the searching of which we ought not to be furious or too inquisitive. Gilbert Ramsay held the atheist's part; the discourse made me get Turrentine to read upon the subject.

3d.—I was with Mr. Blair in his own house. Last week we had the news that the Parliament of England was prorogued, some in it having lately spoke freely against the King's way, and partly against his having popish officers in the army, and against the raising more forces, which he had mentioned to them, and for that end desired a great sum of money: in short they pleased not him, and therefore he would not suffer them to sit longer, and what will or can they do next?

4th.—I was with Westshiel a little while. Mr. Neilson was a while with me at night.

5th.—I was a while, indeed severall hours, in Mr. Robertson's, at night; too long by far to continue idle and clattering.

6th.—I heard Mr. Bess, minister of the English congregation, in the forenoon, and at night I heard Mr. Blair in Mr. Haddow's. Mr. John Neilson and I were a while together afternoon.

7th.—Forenoon I was a while in the fields with Mr. Blair, afternoon I was with Gilbert Ramsay and Pardiven.

8th.—After De Uries lesson I took a walk without the walls with Robert Blackader and Mr. Robertson.

9th.—Mr. Robertson, John Guthrie, or La Motte, and Robert Blackader, were in my chamber. I was with Mr. Neilson at night.

10th.—I was seeing Mr. Blair and Mr. Steinson. I had now, alas! for severall days lost tenderness and affection in going about religious duties, being too much concerned in and taken

up with severall trifles, and letting sin pass without controul, or not byding by the resisting of it.

11th.—I was seeing Lockart of Kirkton, who the last week came to this town. I was a while in Mr. Robertson's chamber.

12th.—I was in Mr. Blair's and in the Lady Carsland's. I got notice that William Cleland, James Bruce, John Fullerton, etc., were come to Rotterdam from Scotland, there being now few of those who went from this in May last to Scotland who were not returned.

13th.—I heard the English minister in the forenoon, and at night Mr. Blair. I spent a part of yesterday's forenoon in prayer, that I might regain a right frame of spirit and prepare for the Lord's day.

14th.—The private college I had now made two hours in the day, that the institutions might be ended before the vacance began.

I wrote to Scotland that there was now a report that the King was to send for to England the six regiments that were in these Provinces, and also the standing forces of Scotland and Ireland.

15th.—I saw Mr. Sinclair.

16th.—At night I met with Mr. Adams, who was a student of medicine at Leyden.

17th.—This day I was with James Bruce, John Fullarton, and William Cleland, and —— Campbell, who were all come lately from Scotland, and yesternight to this town. The college I had in the institutions under Van Moyden ended this day. James Bruce stayed with me: all the four went under other names.

18th.—I was in Kirkton's chamber the forenoon, and afternoon with him and Mr. Steinson.

19th.—I was most of this afternoon with Kirkton and William Cleland, and was seeing Mr. Robertson.

20th.—I heard the English minister, and at night Mr. Blair in his own house.

21st.—I was in the Lady Carsland's, Mr. Blair's, etc. ; at night William Cleland, or Cuningham, John Guthrie, or Lamot, Lockart of Kirkton, George Pourie, or Lamot, James Bruce were in my chamber. We spoke of staying in these provinces,

or near to them, where we might most conveniently and advantageously serve as soildiers, or otherways as every one thought fittest, that we might be so posted here as to be ready in case the Lord gave us an opportunity of going home to serve our country ; so we were to advertise one another upon all such occasions.

22d.—I waited upon Bruce, or Graham, to the scout, for Rotterdam, Cleland, Wishart and he having gone together. I was a while with Mr. Steinson and Mr. Neilson.

23d.—This morning at seven I went an hour or more towards Leyden with Mr. Neilson. I was in Kirkton's chamber with Mr. Blair.

24th.—This day we got notice that on Monday last Mr. Hogg's house at Rotterdam was searched by the baillie, at eleven at night, they having broke up the door, but were disappointed, finding none but the mistress of the house. This did alarm us, especially considering the security that was expected at Rotterdam, there being fair promises given for that effect. We had also account that there was no security to be expected in any place of the Provinces except Amsterdam for such as were challenged by the King of England. I was in Mr. Blair's with Kirkton, Mr. Moncrieff, and Vandervell, bookseller at Amsterdam.

25th.—I keept this as a fast day alone, for the ruined condition of the church of God through Europe, and particularly in Scotland, including my own private case, that God would now appear for his work, and give his people who are scattered among the nations, to look to Him in earnest, for pardon of all their sins and recovery of his interest, and that He would hear them that call upon him from the places of their banishment, as He did his people of old, and bring them back for the restoring and reviving of his Gospel. Afternoon I took a walk about the town.

26th.—I was with Kirkton, and in Mr. Robertson's. Some were here changing their chambers because of the search at Rotterdam, there being also one at Amsterdam. At night I was a while with the Ramsays.

27th.—I heard Mr. Bess in the forenoon, and afternoon was a while with severall others, praying together, Mr. Blair, who

used to preach privately at night, having left the town the last week. William Sythrum came here. This day I had letters from Scotland, it being near three months since I came from them.

28th.—I was in Mr. Robertson's with William Sythrum, and afternoon took a walk with him and Mr. Moncrieff.

29th.—I was in Mr. Moncrieff's chamber with Will. Sythrum, and at night was seeing Mr. Steinson.

30th.—William Sythrum was much with me in my chamber. I met with James Stewart, Mr. Blair, and Mr. Cleland, who came all to the town this night.

31st.—I went towards the scout with William Sythrum at eight in the morning, but he missed it. Afternoon I went up to the steeple called the Dome, which is more than 350 steps high, there is in it 51 bells, 44 whereof are for musick ! the greatest bell was my fathom, and about half an ell more, over the mouth ; its weight as was told us was 18000 pounds.

(The 1st of JANUARY 1686, Friday.)—Yesterday I met with James Wishart. This day I was a while walking with Mr. John Sinclair, at night in Mr. Robertson's chamber, and a while with John Nisbet.

2d.—William Sythrum went for Rotterdam at night. I met with Mr. Alexander Hastie, and Mr. Lithgow, who had been a factor at London. I was with Mr. Stevenson and Mr. Stewart.

3d.—I heard Mr. Bess in the English church, where the communion was given, there being about 60 communicants. At night I heard Mr. Blair.

4th.—I was much with Mr. Alexander Hastie, and at night heard him preach in Mr. M<sup>c</sup>Queen's.

5th.—Mr. Neilson was a while with me. I was at night with Mr. Steinson and Lawson.

6th.—Mr. Lockart and Mr. Cunningham were a while with me at night.

7th.—After eleven I was in Mr. Cunningham's with Mr. Lockhart, playing at fleuretts, and then with them in Mr. Moncrieff's ; afternoon I went to walk with them, Mr. Robertson, Mr. Guthrie, and James Wishart.

8th.—I was enquiring for Professor Van Moyden, but missed

him ; after that was a while with Mr. George Barclay, nephew to old Mr. George, and with Mr. Neilson.

9th.—I was walking afternoon with Mr. Lockart, Mr. Neilson, and Mr. Cunningham, and at night was with Mr. Steinson and Mr. Stewart.

10th.—I was not this day in the English church, at night I heard Mr. George Barclay.

11th.—I went round the town with Mr. George Barclay, and staid with him much of this day.

12th.—I staid within all day, having taken medicine for a sweat. Mr. Lockhart and Mr. Guthrie were with me at night. Mr. Neilson was with me much of the day.

13th.—I was in Mr. Robertson's with Mr. Lockhart and James Wishart, and at night with Mr. Stevenson. The frost was begun this week.

14th.—I was a while with Pardiven at night, and with Robert Ramsay.

15th.—I went little out this day. I thought to have been at a weekly meeting that was kept for prayer on this day of the week, where Mr. Barclay, Mr. Cross and others are, but the time being a little altered I was dissapointed.

16th.—I was a while with Mr. Steinson and in Mr. Robertson's. Mr. Neilson was a while with me.

17th.—I went about an hour's walking out of town with Mr. Neilson, and heard a Dutch sermon, but understood little ; afternoon I heard Mr. Corss in the English church, and at night Mr. Barclay.

18th.—I was a while out this morning calling for James Wishart, who was to go for Amsterdam, and at night with Mr. Stewart.

The English Parliament was adjourned, it seems, because the King could not get the members made to his mind.

19th.—I was with Van Moyden, Professor of Law, and seeing some others.

20th.—Alexander Lumsden my cousin-german came to this from Rotterdam, having come lately from Lunenburgh, where he had been for some months, we being resolved to study the law together. Mr. Lamot and Mr. Wishart were with me in my chamber ; at night I was seeing Mr. Stewart and Blair.

22d.—I was with Mr. Steinson and Doctor Melvill, who was to go out of the town to-morrow, intending for Scotland. I was with James Dunlop, William Cleland, John Fullerton, and James Bruce.

23d.—I was with my cousin seeking out chambers for us. I was severall times with John Fullarton, William Cleland, and James Bruce.

24th.—I heard Mr. Bess in the English church in the forenoon, when he publickly admitted an elder and a deacon, who were chosen by the classis (which is a meeting of ministers, or presbytery, for discipline) instead of others who had been in those offices. He intimate from the pulpit three times their being chosen, in case there had been any lawful objection against any of them, then he admitted them, they having stood before the pulpit and promised faithfullness in the offices. At night I heard Mr. How, a Presbyterian, and esteemed one of the greatest preachers in England, in Sir John Thomson's, a discreet gentleman, who has a religious Lady, and is a member of the present English Parliament ; his text was in Heb. 9. 1.

25th.—I was at the scout with James Bruce, who went for the Hague. I was seeing Mr. Steinson and Mr. Stewart, and in Mr. Robertson's with severall others.

26th.—I heard Mr. How preach this day in Mr. Papillion's, who had been chosen Sheriff of London.

Afternoon my cousin Alexander and I went to the ice with Mr. Robertson and John Lamot.

27th.—My cousin and I were with Mr. William Moncrief, and at night with Gilbert and Robert Ramsays, Mr. Robertson and Mr. Lamot.

28th.—I heard Mr. John Sinclair lecture in my cousin's chamber on the 53 Psalm, it being thought fit, and he likeways being desirous, to exercise in private before he came to publick. He was indeed serious and had indeed pertinent and good matter, and may prove a true gospel preacher and a good instrument in the church. I was seeing Mr. Steinson.

29th.—I kepted this day in fasting and prayer, for removing of those things that did impede my access to God in prayer, for the people of God, and particularly for his work and people in Scotland. I thought the Lord was pleased to help me to

aim at seriousness. There was a particular which Mr. Neilson had spoke to me of wherein I was a little concerned. This same night when I was with Mr. Stewart I thought the Lord was pleased to answer a part of my prayers, which I looked upon as a token of the Lord's goodness and continued mercies towards me. James Bruce came back this night and stayed with me. I went to my cousin's chamber (he having staid in mine) where I was alone all the day, not being interrupted by company. I was affraid least this day's work should only prove the hanging down of the head for a day, without seriously considering the duty or that which is designed by it, yet my desire is still in the way of duty to ask and wait for from the Lord an answer of my suits, and to depend patiently and believably upon him in the advancement of his glory by the whole course of my life and death.

30th.—I was in Mr. Robertson's, and with Mr. Steinson, Stewart, and others this day.

31st.—I heard Mr. Bess in the English church, and at night heard Mr. William Moncrief in Mr. Steinson's chamber, there being none there but Mr. Steinson, Mr. Stewart, and Kirkton and me. To my apprehension he did preach well, both methodically and affectionately, having more matter than he was able to deliver, tho he spoke thick and was also long; his text was 1 Peter 4. 12.—Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial, etc.

(FEBRUARY 1st, Monday, 1686.)—I was speaking to Mr. Corss, anent using his moyen with one who was to make way for James Bruce getting a cadet's place in Colonel Wait's Regiment in this town.

2d.—I went not much abroad this day.

3d.—I was with Kirkton and George Wishart, with my cousin and James Bruce, and att night in Mr. Blair's with Mr. Stewart. I received a kind letter from Sir Patrick Hume at Bourdeaux.

4th.—This day De Urie's publick lessons began. I was a while with — and with one Mr. Melvill, Doctor Melvill's brother, a grave young man and student of divinity.

5th.—I was with Mr. Robertson. After the publick lesson

was over I was upon the wall a while with my cousin and Gilbert Ramsay.

James Bruce went to Amsterdam.

6th.—Mr. Sinclair and Mr. Neilson were with us. I heard Mr. Moncrieff preach upon his last text, which he did to the satisfaction of the hearers, there being only the last four.

7th.—I heard Mr. Bess in the church, and Mr. Barclay at night. I was with Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, who was come from Poland. We brought him to my cousin's chamber, where he lodged. I went with Auchinbreck to the Amsterdam scout, with Mr. Debois, an English merchant who had come with him from Lunenburgh. Kirkton, James Bruce, and William Cleland, went for Cleves, expecting some preferment in the new regiments of French that Brandenburgh was levying. I wrote to Sir Patrick Hume at Bourdeaux. I was at my Professor of Law, Van Moyden's.

9th.—This day I entered to three private colleges, one of Theology under Hen. Wittsius, one of law under Van Moyden, and one Physicks, or natural phylosophy, under Gerard De Uries, all brave men. O that I might right improve my time in seeking after, with a right dependance upon [God], the knowledge of these sciences I now study, and that having attained to any knowledge or improvement that way, I may improve all to his glory and my good in any way or station He shall think fit.

10th.—I was with Mr. Robertson at night.

11th.—Wittsius had not his colledge. I was seeing Mr. Steinson and Mr. Stewart. We had news now that there were severall mass houses in Edinburgh, and that many people were turning papists.

12th.—I was a while in Mr. Robertson's, and was severall times seeking Mr. Millar.

13th.—I was in the fields walking with Mr. Robertson, Mr. Lamotte, and my cousin; it was very pleasant and warm weather. At night I was with Mr. Steinson and Mr. Strachan.

14th.—I heard Mr. How in the English church, and at night I heard Mr. Blair.

15th.—I went to the Amsterdam scout with Mr. Strachan,

and was at the Leyden scout with Mr. Steinson, at eight in the morning.

16th.—I was a while with Mr. Robert Blackader. I was little out now but at colleges, having much to read.

17th.—I was with William Fleming, who came this day from Rotterdam. He was to enter the college under De Uries. I was a while in Mr. Blair's.

18th.—I was walking afternoon with Robert and Gilbert Ramsay, R. Blackader and my cousin; after that I was with Mr. Lawson.

19th.—I was several times with Mr. William Carstairs, and at a weekly meeting in the Lady Carsland's,<sup>1</sup> where Mr. Blair preached and others prayed.

20th.—I had no colledge of Law, Van Moyden being at Amsterdam for two or three days. I went to the waggon with Mr. William Carstairs, who was going for Cleves. We had now notice of Mr. Robert Lockhart and Mr. John Carstairs death, two old ministers. Mr. Carstairs, Mr. William's father, was a holy and eloquent man.

21st.—I heard Mr. Bess in the English church, and at night I heard Mr. William Moncrieff.

22d.—Forenoon I was seeing the books of an auction, that were to be sold.

23d.—I was at an auction at night. I was with Mr. Steinson who was returned from Leyden, and with Mr. Moncrieff.

24th.—I was with Mr. Stewart, and after that with my cousin in Mr. Robertson's. I was troubled about my condition, which I thought was now decaying and growing worse as to that which was best.

Mr. Linlithgow and Mr. Stewart stayed a while with me.

I was this afternoon having Professor Van Mastricht's private divinity lesson. I did like his lesson, and am resolved to keep his college.

26th.—This morning Walter Seaton, now William Hamilton, came to my chamber, being resolved now to stay in the Colledge in this place, tho before I came he did much to

<sup>1</sup> The widow of Robert Ker of Kersland, Ayrshire. He was a noted sufferer, and died in Holland, an exile, in 1680.

diswaude me from coming, or going publickly to the colledge, which, as he wrote, was thought inconsiderate forwardness in me; yet I desire to bless the Lord who determined me so, and does frequently lead me on as it were blindly, that his wisdom and goodness may the more appear in me an empty creature, to the doing of those things which I had not inclined to, or considered really and Christianly as men ought, by foreseeing any disputable effect, but merely, and insensibly as to me, determined by himself to do or not to do, which afterward was to me a discovery of the fatherly care of God in taking that way to lead sinners to repentance, and to acknowledge and lay hold on him for eternall life and salvation, and also of my weakness and inability to do any good or acceptable deed or service to God without Christ, for this I desire to bless eternally his Holy name.

27th.—I was in the fields a part of this afternoon with the Ramsays and my cousin, and at night was in the Lady Carsland's.

28th.—I heard Mr. Bess in the church, and at night Mr. William Moncrieff in Mr. S.<sup>es</sup> chamber.

(MARCH 1<sup>st</sup>, Monday, 1686.)—I was a while with Mr. Debois, a Dutch Englishman and merchant. I was in Mr. Robertson's.

2d.—I went to Professor Van Moyden's with Mr. Hamilton, after that was hearing Mastricht, and with Mr. Melvill.

3d.—I was a little at the auction, and at night Mr. Neilson was a while in my chamber, with my cousin.

4th.—I was a while with Mr. Blackader and with Mr. Steinson.

5th.—I was a while in the fields, and then with Mr. Steinson in C. Costen's, reckoned the best gun smith in Utrecht, he had this week sent 400 musquets for Scotland, and was now preparing 300 dragoons' pieces more for Scotland. I was with Mr. Strachan.

6th.—I was not well disposed in my health. I was with Lamotte, and in the fields with my cousin.

7th.—I was in the English church, and at night hearing Mr. Barclay in the Lady Carsland's.

8th.—I was with Mr. Steinson, and a while with Lamotte.

9th.—David Dickson, now Richardson, came to this place, having come lately from Bourdeaux, where he left Mr. Peirson and James Henderson.

10th.—I was with Mr. Barclay and most of the day with Mr. Richardson. I met with Alexander Carstairs.

11th.—I convoyed Mr. William Carstairs to the waggon for Cleves, and David Richardson and Alexander Carstairs to the scout for Rotterdam. Speaking of the last year's undertaking in going home to Scotland, Mr. Stewart gave me the account following,—that in the beginning of the year 1684, Argyle and other gentlemen being in the low countries, Argyle thought he might adventure to make an attempt in Scotland if 15000 pounds sterling, which would go far in furnishing arms, etc., were provided. Some English people, who were likeways in this country, did undertake to give 5000 pounds sterling, if the other ten or eight more could be provided from England. J. Eleves was sent to try what England would do, being recommended to friends there. In May 1684, upon the prospect of the money promised by those here, and of what might be expected from England, Argyle went from Utrecht, Mr. Stewart having gone with him, to Amsterdam, that they might be there enquiring at the shops and magazines of arms for such things as would be usefull, that they might on a sudden prepare all things in case the money were advanced in England, and the affair was likely to go otherways on in Scotland. Notwithstanding of all this uncertainty, Argyle, the first time he went through, having fallen upon a place where there was defensive armour, as backs, breasts, and head pieces, agreed presently for 400 stand. When Mr. Stewart spoke to him and told him of the uncertainty of the money, and of affairs being relished in Scotland, he said in a chaff,—if the money were not payed, and the affair went not on, it should not be his fault, and that it should not fail upon his part. After this he went out alone, without advertising Mr. Stewart, pretending afterwards it was inconvenient to take too many along with him; upon this Mr. Stewart returned to Utrecht and left him.

A few months after this he had engaged himself in £1600 sterling of debt for arms. By this time Eleves is returned from

England, and gives account that there is no money to be expected from thence. Notwithstanding of this, some who had engaged here, were still content to advance, if there could be any reasonable sum made up to begin the affair, Mr. Rawlins offering £1000 sterling, but died soon after, and so that failed. Notwithstanding of all this, and other discouragements from home, the country being no ways prepared, Argyle continues resolute in the design, being resolved with what money could be had to go home in the Spring 1685. In the winter, Argyle being at Lewarden, sent for Mr. Stewart to advise about the matter, who when he came to Amsterdam, found the English full of and forward for that affair, but being no ways forward to concurr for the advancing of that design at present, as it was at present managed, and other affairs were situated, therefore he wrote his excuse to Argyle, telling plainly that if he had met he would positively have diswauded them from going on with that design at present, and therefore thought it better to return home. When they were thus busy the King dies, which did move them as if fire had been set to powder, and now after other ways of getting money had failed, Madam Smith, with whom Argyle had been long entertained, advanced £8000 Sterling, Mr. Lock having advanced a part. Eleve was not relished by those he was sent to, or others concerned, being thought a forward, rash, and irreligious man, which indeed was much true, tho he wanted not to commend him, but I hope he grew better.

12th.—I was much within, Mr. Melvill being a while with me.

13th.—I was in the fields with Mr. Robert Fleming and his brother William, and Robert and Gilbert Ramsay.

14th.—I heard Mr. Corss in the English church, and Mr. Barclay at night.

15th.—I was with Mr. Steinson and Lamott. This night there was a house burnt near the Stadthouse; they prevented the fires from taking on other places by casting out cloaths and keeping them wet by the water works.

16th.—This day was solemnized the jubilee of the College of Utrecht, which was now of fifty years standing. Grevig, the Professor of history and politicks, had an oration in the Dome

church : he read it almost every word. They had musick of severall kinds, a great many gentlemen and persons of quality about being present. Because of yesternight's fire the magistrates of the town discharged by an act the casting of fireworks within the town, tho there had been a great quantity provided by themselves and others ; this was indeed grave and becoming.

I was with Thomas and David Dalrymples, who were come from Leyden to see the Jubilee. Mr. Robert Fleming was with my cousin and me ; I was with Mr. Stewart. The Ramsays were in my chamber at night.

17th.—I had no College yesterday or this day. I was with Thomas and David Dalrymple much of this day, and a while in the fields.

18th.—I was in Mr. Robertson's with Mr. Dalrymple and his brother, having gone to the fields after dinner. At night there were a number of fireworks without the town allowed by the magistrates. I was walking with Mr. Stewart.

19th.—I went to the Leyden scout with Mr. Dalrymple, and was at the Friday's meeting in Lady Carsland's. I walked round the town upon the wall with Mr. Stewart and Mr. Steinson.

This was extreme hot weather, it being thought already equall with the last summer.

20th.—Wittsius, Professor of Theology, was chosen Rector this week.

I was seeing De Uries, whom I found very kind and converible, but not well informed of the state of the Scots affairs, which made him judge wrong. We were now hearing many things of the King's going contrary to law in England, and of the advance of Popery in Scotland and England.

21st.—I heard Mr. Bess the forenoon, staid in my chamber afternoon, and read on Durham on the Revelation, which I still liked better and better. I heard Mr. Barclay at night.

22d.—I went no where but to the lessons. Mr. Colvill and Mr. Lamotte was a while with my cousin and me.

23d.—I had many colleges, having Wittsius' public and private divinity, Van Moyden's publick and private Law college, De Uries' physick college, and publick politick college, having besides these read five or six hours.

24th.—I was in Sir John Thomson's with Sir John's son and Mr. Corss. Sir John was a civil man and a liker of Scotsmen.

25th.—My having seven colleges was troublesome and like to turn a burthen, having three in the forenoon and four in the afternoon, all after other. This night I went with Mr. Colvill and Mr. Lamotte to see the popish evening service, where the priest had a sort of sermon consisting merely of some meditations on Christ's passion, very confused and inconsistent; after that he elevated the host. When the people came in they bowed towards the altar, and crossed themselves, and then sat down upon their knees to pray, joyning and holding up their hands, many of them the time of the prayer looking round about them and speaking to those by them, sometimes shifting to give another place. The priest had many tricks and postures of kneeling and bowing in elevating the host, but had no publick prayer or blessing either before or after. In the middle of his discourse the organs played, and some women sung pleasantly: after that he ended his discourse. As the people came out they dipped their finger in the holy pot and applied it to their face.

O that the Lord would still more and more engage me against this hellish and mock religion, and learn me to know him and the mistry of salvation as he has revealed it to me in his word, and that I may be blest of him to practise it so as his glory may be advanced and the salvation of my soul. I was seeing the Lady Carsland, and a while in Mr. Haddow's. Yesterday the college rose for the Pasch vacance, which continued till the first Monday after two full weeks.

28th.—I heard Mr. Bess in the forenoon. At the end of the last prayer, Skelton, the Envoy for England, came to the church, with six or seven beside servants: he went aside and read a prayer, as if he had been presently designing to seek after the Scots or English fugitives, or other dissafected persons, Col. Danvers, Sir Patrick Ward, etc., with several who were concerned, being in the church. We could understand nothing that he designed but to make a bravade, which was an unsuitable practise for a person in such a place. At night I heard Mr. Barclay preach well.

29th.—Mr. Colvill and Lamotte were in my chamber at

night. Alas, I was not now making a right use of the Lord's warnings to me, which were many, both by his preached and written word, by his dispensations, and also by his speaking in to my own heart: or if at any time in some measure I have been awaked out of sleep, yet I fear I have not continued, but been like the sluggard.

O that I could be applying and improving that aright which was said to Jonah, chap. 1. 6: What meanest thou, O sleeper? arise, call upon thy God, if so be that God will think upon us that we perish not. Lord help me to awake and call upon thee in earnest in my heart, whilst thou art knocking and waiting, least thou depart, and then I sleep the sleep of death.

30th.—This morning I was at the waggon with Mr. Thomson, Sir John's eldest son, who was going for Cleves. Afternoon I was in the fields with Mr. Colville, the Ramsays, etc.

31st.—I went to the scout for Rotterdam with Madam Stewart, and thought to have gone to Rotterdam with her, but there being another woman with her, and I being unready on severall accounts, I went not; and seeing the communion was to be given there shortly, I was the better content to delay for a few days before that.

(APRIL 1st, Thursday, 1686.)—I was resolved to keep the next day, and set it apart for private prayer and fasting, and was several times with Mr. Robertson.

2d.—I continued at duty, and reading some things anent the nature of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Tho I had not such sensible comfort as I think sometimes I have had, yet I hope I went about those duties to which the Lord has annexed blessed promises, and which he has layed upon his people as their duty, so as continuing in his way I may expect an answer of peace in due time. Oh if I could be making use of that lesson which Christ gave John's disciples, Matt. 9. 15: Can the children of the bride-chamber mourn as long as the bridegroom is with them? but the days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then shall they fast. If I had a mourning heart, O how great occasion of mourning is there because of the Lord's absence, not only from particular

persons and families, but from whole churches ! Yea, I may say his controversy is now with all his churches and people through the earth. The desolate and forsaken condition of the church of Scotland may make me mourn ; and that which is said to the church ; Jer. 1. 3 : But thou hast played the harlot with many lovers, yet turn again to me, saith the Lord, joined with the 12, 13, 14, and 15 verses, may put us all to mourn, and doing so as we ought to give ground to rejoice in the hope of the Lord's returning and appearing to deliver his church and do us good. O that my rejoicing and other exercise of that nature may be regulated by the Lord's presence, with his absence from his church and my soul. I was with Mr. Lawson and Mr. Steinson after seven.

3d.—I was this afternoon much in the fields, with the Ramsays, Mr. Colvill, Mr. Seaton, and my cousin.

4th.—I heard Mr. Bess, and did see him administer the Sacrament ; at night I heard Coulman, who preached in Dutch, and was the only minister who conformed not to the ceremonies and abuses of the church in the United Provinces. He was a great lover of the Scots church and people, and was usefull to many of them.

5th.—I was much at home, and a while in the fields afternoon.

6th.—I was seeing Professor Van Mastricht, with Mr. Melvel and Pardiven. He gave a large testimony of the church of Scotland, particularly to the church discipline, affirming it to be the purest that has been since the apostles' days. I was a while with Robert Ramsay.

7th.—I went to see Mr. Coulman, but missed him. I was with Messrs. Steinson and Morison.

8th.—This morning I went with Mr. Moncrief, in the wind scout, for Rotterdam ; we were all night in the scout.

9th.—This morning before seven we landed at Rotterdam. I did see several friends this day, and was a while at an auction. I was with Mr. Dundas in Mr. Fleming's.

10th.—I was with Cultness, Mr. Russell, and severall others. It troubled me that I was so little in my chamber this day, laying to heart the work I was designing to be about the next day, in order to the searching out of my way, that I might put

away every thing hatefull to God, and lay hold upon Christ wholly and only, that I might know how fit my heart was for approaching to God my Saviour, and getting the pardon of my sins, and my interest in him sealed in that eminent manner of his own institution, whereby he admitts believers to communion with him at his own table, they commemorating his death till he come.

11th.—I was this day, with others, a partaker of the Lord's Supper, having before made it my work to come prepared, by repenting and seeking from God pardon of all my sins, and aiming at true love to him, and renewing all my former engagements to God, begging pardon of sins against him. I knew I came far short of duties of this nature, but I pray the Lord may accept my imperfect and defective going about duties, and help me to live suitably to my partaking of that ordinance by aiming still at more real union with him, and that the free grace of God may be made to shine in renewing my mind in the knowledge of Christ, and in doing good to the soul of one who is a weak, miserable, and sinfull creature. A little time before I went to the table, I thought my heart was in a fitter frame and more lifted up to rejoice in and with Christ than when I was at the table. I wait upon God, who appointed this blessed ordinance, for a blessing upon my partaking of it.

12th.—I heard Mr. Robert Archibald preach the sermon after the communion. I was in Mr. Fleming's, and seeing Mr. Dundas, and with Mr. Wood and James Wishart.

13th.—I was with Mr. Gray and old Mr. Thomas Hogg. I came to the Delph scout at one of the clock with William Sythrum. I met in the scout with Madam Smith, and with her, Mr. Hastie. We stayed at Delph near an hour. I went to Mr. Sinclair's, but missed him. Mr. Hastie went back to Rotterdam, and we came to Leyden about eight. I came to David Dickson's chamber, and stayed with him all night. I was with Robert Craig, and did see David Davidson, and Mr. Justice, a student of law.

14th.—The gentlewoman who was with Madam Smith falling sick and unable to travel, I resolved to wait upon her to Amsterdam, and go from that to Utrecht. I was with my Lord Stair, the late President, and with James Forrester. We

took the one o'clock scout for Harlem, Stair and David Dickson went about two hours with us in the scout ; at Harlem we took the first scout, and came to Amsterdam at eight. By the way I got account from Madam Smith of the carrying on of the late affair by Argyle, and the gentlemen concerned in it. She did much favour to take Argyle's part in every [thing] he did. She said those persons who did oppose him most in that affair, were they who had formerly, by their comending and esteeming of him as a man fit for such a work, gained much of that respect she bore always afterwards for Argyle as a man so qualified, so that their after counteracting of him had no place to alter her former esteem of him. She blamed the gentlemen much for being too forward for Monmouth's going to England, and seemed to insinuate as if they were for Monmouth's being King, which I knew to be otherways. She said that Monmouth was much against his going to England, but was pressed to it, and that when Argyle went from Amsterdam, Monmouth knew neither of ships nor arms, or was provided or fit for the expedition. She spoke of many other things too tedious to be wrote here. She thought very strange of Argyle's method at home, and staying in the Highlands, considering what she had from his mouth and under his hand to the contrary of what was done : she favour'd him much.

15th.—I missed the morning scout, and so went [over] a great part of the walls of Amsterdam. I was at Vanderveld's, and seeing Robert Rainie. I came away at one o'clock, and was at Utrecht before nine.

16th.—I went to the colleges. I was with Mr. Lawson afternoon, and at the meeting in Lady Carsland's. I did see Mr. Stevenson, and was with Mr. Lawson.

[17th].—I went little abroad this day.

18th.—I heard Mr. Woodcock in the English church ; he is an English minister, and preached well. At night I heard Mr. Barclay. This was the last sermon we were to expect from Mr. Barclay here, he being to leave this place.

19th.—This morning I went to the scout with Mr. Lawson, who was going for Amsterdam to stay. On Friday last I came to a chamber in the Anna stradt, my hospes name is Nicholas Goden, and State Bode, or messenger.

20th.—I was seeing Mr. Barclay, and went with him to the scout for Amsterdam. I had now a French master an hour in the day, for learning that language.

21st.—I was a while with Mr. Neilson, and in several other places. The weather was now scorching hot. Mr. Moncrief was a while with me. I was in Mr. Colvill's.

22d.—Before I came back to Utrecht, the last week, the Bishop of St. Andrew's son, Mr. Ross, with Mr. Gordon his governour, and Mr. Thomas Wallace, who had been at Leyden, were enter'd to Van Moyden's Institutes College, Gordon attended the Law College, tho he was a preacher: he alledged it was for his pupil's behoof. I had not yet spoke to or owned any of them, tho I was at Glasgow College with Mr. Wallace. I met with George Gibb, who was come from Rotterdam. He told of a fleet of 80 French ships that were already at sea; it was thought by many they designed to wait upon the English coast during the sitting of the Parliament, that they might be a ready supply in case he needed them, the Parliament of both kingdoms being now to sit. The Dutch, it seems, being affraid of their West India fleet, sent out 14 ships to wait their coming, besides 12 which was with the fleet, which consisted of 50 sail, most of them good fighting ships. Some said the number of the French ships was less.

23d.—I was present at our disputation College of Law, and a while afternoon in Sir John Thomson's, with Mr. Corss and Sir John's son.

24th.—I was afternoon in Mr. Colvill's chamber, and walking with Mr. Stevenson.

25th.—Sin, notwithstanding of my resolutions and engagements against it, was still creeping on and gaining ground too much; and, alas, I was now much out of a right frame, and being unable to resist sin and the assaults of Satan, but frequently yeilding. Lord, let not this be for ever, but help me daily to mourn before thee for pardon, untill thou return to grant me pardon of all my sins, and say thou wilt be at peace with me. O that I might attain to that great and much unknown priveledge of getting access to the throne of grace, where I might be frequently leaving my complaints and getting pardon of sin, that I might be able to do what was

most for his glory while here. I heard Mr. Woodcock in the English church on those words,—Thy will be done on earth. I heard Mr. Corss afternoon.

26th.—I had now too many colleges, having added the learning of French to all I had formerly: I thought it best to do what I could now, not knowing how soon I might be disappointed of the good occasions I had here. I was a while with Mr. Moncrief and Mr. Stevenson.

27th.—I was, afternoon, a while with Mr. Colvill, and at night with Professor De Uries.

28th.—I took a walk without the Rotterdam Port, with Mr. Stevenson; we found the fields and gardens now pleasant. We came to a place regularly planted, having twelve entries to the middle.

29th.—I was a while with Mr. Colvill, and Mr. Francis Melvill, whose company I found profitable and edifying.

(SATURDAY, 1<sup>st</sup> May 1686.)—Yesterday I was hearing Professor Loytts confute the Cartesian opinion anent the sun standing still, and prove the contrary from Eccles., 1<sup>st</sup> chap.

Messrs. Lamotte and Ramsay were with my cousin and I.

2d.—I heard Mr. Bess in the English church: afternoon I stayed in my chamber.

3d.—I was a while with Mr. Colvill at night. I was with Gilbert Ramsay and Mr. Gordon, Governor to Mr. Ross, the bishop of St. Andrew's son.

4th.—I was seeing the Lady Carsland: at night I was with Mr. Patrick Home, Sir Patrick Home of Polwarth's eldest son, and Mr. Baillie of Jerriswood, they having come to town yesternight, and enquiring for Scotsmen, were directed to my chamber. I did show them Mr. Blair's chamber, which they asked for, but was not known to them nor them to me.

5th.—I went this morning to Soila with Mrs. Margaret Ker, and a daughter of the Heer Van Eist, it is an hour's walking without the Amsterdam Port.

I was in one Mr. Palmer's, a doctor under whose care my sister Mary had been for some time. He was a discreet Dutchman, and showed us many rarities in his anatomy room. I did see a man's skin, who was executed two years ago, which was

stuffed with herbs fit for keeping the skin lively like. Mr. Palmer told me the nails of his fingers, which we did see, were wholly grown since the skin was stuffed ; they were so as in other men, but narrower and long.

My cousin and I dined with Mr. Colvill.

6th.—I received a letter from my eldest brother in Carolina, dated at Stewartstown, July 1685, and several letters from friends at home.

I was much of this afternoon with Patrick Home and Jerriswood.

7th.—I did see Mr. Colvill's landlord opened, many being desirous to know the reason of his distemper, he having been above a year in a declining condition, and died suddenly vomiting blood, giving no symptoms so much as a quarter of an hour before death that could warrant of such a danger.

I was in the Lady Carsland's at night.

8th.—I was with Jerriswood. We had now heard that Duke Hamilton, Sir George Lockhart, President, and Lieutenant General Drummond, whom the King had sent for to court, had not agreed to the King's desire of abrogating the penal statutes against Popery in Scotland, which is good, and may prove great news if they bide by it.

9th.—I heard Mr. Peacock in the English church : He shall not be affraid of evil tidings, his heart is fixed, trusting in the Lord. I heard Mr. Corss at night in Sir John Thomson's.

10th.—I was in Robert Ramsay's chamber, and after that in Mr. Walter Seaton's.

11th.—The Parliament of Scotland sat down the 29th April. We heard of the King's letter and the Commissioner's speech, both smooth, yet positive in desiring the penal laws against papists might be abrogated. Mr. Alexander Hastie was a while with us at night.

12th.—I was with Mr. Hastie, and Mr. Baillie of Jerriswood.

13th.—This morning I went to Viana, about two hours from the Rotterdam Port, with Mr. Baillie and my cousin, and returned on foot at night. We did see the house and yards that belonged to Bredrod, who had been instrumental in delivering the Provinces from the tyranny of Spain. We did

likeways see waterworks spring, and much fine planting. This was a holiday, which gave us more spare time.

14th.—I was with Mr. Moncrief, and William Fleming and George Fleming.

15th.—I went out to the Belt, where p. p. and Mr. B. were now lodged, with John Guthrie. My cousin was here, being on his way to Wesel.

16th.—I heard Mr. Bess in the English church, and at night Mr. Howe in his own house.

17th.—I was in the horse market with p. p. and Mr. Baillie.

18th.—I went up to the Dome Steeple with Mr. Brown, with whom I had been at Masies class, at Edinburgh College. He is brother to Colston. At night I was with Mr. Colvill.

19th.—I was swimming and washing in a river with Pardiven. I was with Sir John Thomson.

20th.—I went to the Belt with John Guthrie and my cousin. There were letters from Scotland lately from LMR, etc., of the great probability of union that was like to be among professors, and of their being to have ministers among them, and the gospel revived among them. I would gladly hope this frame will not be out of time, and that there may be some ground for them to expect encouragement both from ministers and others now here.

21st.—I was with Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Baillie, and p. p. We had now the vacance for severall days, which was the custom in this and other colleges here.

22d.—I went to Amsterdam with my cousin; we came there before nine at night. We had the company of Mr. Mead and Mr. Hunt, English students, and Mr. Cameron and Mr. Nisbet. We lodged in James Thomson's. We were with Sir D. Campbell and his Lady.

23d.—I heard Mr. Gouge, the forenoon: he is minister of the English Independent Congregation at Amsterdam; and afternoon, Mr. Mead, who is a good preacher: at night I heard Mr. Barclay.

24th.—I was seeing Mr. Barclay, and was in company with Mr. Manly, an Englishman, and Captain Thomson, who was with Monmouth. I did see and was with many English.

25th.—I was in Mr. Strachan's and Mr. Blair's. I was in the

Stadt house, and got a full sight of the city. I was some hours at night with Mr. Wood and Mr. Norton, Englishmen, with my cousin and Robert Bryson. This night Mr. Dundas, William Cleland, Mr. Gray, with Robert Gibb, came to Amsterdam.

26th.—I was with Mr. Strachan, and was a while with Charles Erskine, ensign, son to the deceast Lord Lyon. Mr. Cleland, my cousin and I, took the eight hours scout for Utrecht.

27th.—This morning early we came to Utrecht. Forenoon I was seeing Lady Carsland; and afternoon, went to the Belt with Mr. Stevenson and Mr. Cleland, and stayed a while with Mr. Baillie and Mr. Hume.

28th.—This morning I went to the waggon with William Cleland. We were now getting the news confirmed that the Protestants in the vallies of Piedmont were defending themselves against the Duke of Savoy, their oppressing master, and the King of France, who assisted Savoy. Some in France who had abjured formerly that religion, being now convinced of that grievous sin, were declaring publickly in conventions above hundreds, particularly at Diep, that they had been always Protestants in their hearts, which made the King emitt a most severe edict against them, ordaining the dead bodies of those who died in the Protestant faith, and renouncing Popery, to be thrown out in the open fields among the dead bodies of beasts. He had another severe edict against those who fled to other countries.

29th.—I was with Robert and Gilbert Ramsay, and after that with p. p. and Mr. Baillie.

It is now a month since the Parliament of Scotland met, but they were frequently adjourned, they no way inclining to yeild to the King's desire of abrogating the penal statutes against Papists, which they said was contrary to the Test imposed on them when the King was Commissioner for the Parliament, which they having swore, bound them to do nothing that might prejudge the Protestant Interest: thus their opposition did not only disappoint the King (they having almost never before refused anything which he or his predecessors had desired of them), but almost all who were concerned to know those affairs.

30th.—I heard Mr. Bess, forenoon, and next went to the Dutch Lutheran church, having understood sentences now and then.

31st.—The college convened this day. I was a while with Mr. Francis Melvill, student of divinity, with whom I had Witsius' and Mastricht's College of Divinity.

(TUESDAY, 1st June 1686.)—I was a while at night with p. p. and Mr. Baillie.

2d.—I was this day with Mr. Lamotte, buying some things.

3d.—I was a while with Mr. Neilson.

4th.—For several weeks before this I could observe no day without rain. I was with Mr. Melvill.

5th.—Robert Bryson came to this place from Amsterdam, and went back at night. I went to the Belt with Mr. Colvill.

6th.—I heard Mr. How in the English church, and at night I heard the Dutch examine; there were only four persons examined, the minister having gone about them more than once: one of them repeated the sermon publickly before the people and minister. They were not young, some of them about 40.

7th.—I was a while with Professor Mastricht: he was very kind, and I do take him to have true religion. I was with Mr. Stevenson, who gave me account of his intention to go shortly to Scotland, mostly because his wife was turned out of all that he and she had, yet he may prove otherways usefull at home. Jerriswood came from Rotterdam, and stayed all night with me. He brought news of the committee appointed by the Parliament to consider the affair of the Penal Statutes had condescended to the abrogating 17 acts of Parliament against Papists. The committee was of twelve noblemen, Duke of Hamilton, Earl of Southesk, and Tweeddale, General Sir George Lockhart, Lieutenant General Drummond, and some Lords of the Session: Burgesses, those for Linlithgow, Aberdeen, and Dumbarton, with the two Archbishops, and the Bishop of Edinburgh.

8th.—Mr. Baillie went to the Belt with his cousin, Mr. Kirtoun's son. At night I was with Mr. Francis Melvill.

9th.—Afternoon I heard Mr. How preach at his own house.

Within a week or two there were about twelve English families came to this town. Mr. Baillie and p. p. came to town ; I was with them.

10th.—I was with Mr. Stevenson and Lamotte. p. p. and Mr. Baillie went to Rotterdam, and Mr. Lamotte, who was shortly to go to Scotland.

11th.—The weather was now so hot that I was hardly able to do any thing, several people died in the fields, and on the high ways, and near the town ; some were said to be the worse of drinking so much sour milk.

12th.—I was a while with Mr. Tait, and seeing the Lady Kersland.

13th.—I heard in the English church one Mr. Taylour, a young man, and at night Mr. How, in his own house.

14th.—At night I went with William Fleming to swim. I was with Mr. Stevenson.

15th.—I met with David Davidson, now graduate Doctor of Medicine at Leyden.

Since the beginning of this month the weather has been exceeding hot ; in the end of May it was cold May weather. I found the weather here much in extremes ; about a month ago cherries were ripe, but not many, and then we had strawberries, and soon after artchichokes.

16th.—I was much with Doctor Davidson. I heard Mr. How preach.

I was in Gilbert Ramsay's chamber with his cousin Robert Ramsay, Walter Seatoun, Mr. Francis Melvill, and my cousin. Thomas Wallace and the Archbishop of St. Andrew's son came in upon us, when we went to David Davidson's chamber, and took two or three glasses of wine. Mr. Wallace would have us drink the King's health, which I would not do. However, he did it, and broke his glass, and one for every person present who did not do it.

17th.—I was with David Davidson, and went to the scout with him.

18th.—I was seeing Mr. Mathew McKell, who was lately come to this place with his family.

19th.—The suffering people of Scotland seemed now to be in a good disposition for unity, many of those who followed

Rainie being gained from that way, having left him, and were calling ministers to preach, they having made a fair separation from Rainie and those few who followed him, at a general meeting on the 28th January last, Mr. Rainie and his party being present, and Mr. Sheills, clerk, and some Commissioners from the societys and fellowships of severall shires. After Mr. Rainie had put other questions to the commissioners, he asked if they were clear to join with them, seeing they owned it as their duty neither to call nor hear such ministers as Mr. Barclay and Mr. Langlands? Which they refused to answer untill R. declared if he would join with them who did own it as their duty to call and hear B. and C. These with Rainie answered they were not clear to join with them any longer. Then the commissioners asked—Are not those the grounds upon which you have separated from us? First, in regard we own it as our duty to call and hear such ministers as hath faithfully owned, doth own, and adhere to the true received principles of the church of Scotland.

They answered they were. After this, they who had left Rainie were at much pains in sending for ministers to Ireland, Mr. S. Arnot, who was there giving them some ground to expect him if he was able to travel, and also one Mr. Guthrie; and also to England, and made known their desire to have ministers among them to the imprisoned ministers in the Bass and Blackness, who did encourage them, several young men being sent from Edinburgh to preach among them. They did also send to this country one Alexander Gordon, who gave a call to several ministers at Rotterdam, but found them no ways inclined that way, and could not get them once to meet, every one referring the determining of the meeting to another. One Mr. Robert Archbald was clear for going home. Then Mr. Gordon went to Amsterdam, and dealt with Mr. Barclay to go, who wrote a letter to Mr. G. to those people, being now indisposed in his body and not very fit for travel. The gentlemen who were on this side, seeing people thus inclined to hear the gospel, thought it was their part to do all that was possible for their encouragement from this, and took this as a good token and opportunity to prepare the country for some noble attempt. They thought of sending over some persons who,

with others at home, should make it their business to understand what condition the country was in, and what strength they could make in case there should be yet a time for their appearing, and that they might put them in as good a posture as might be.

Mr. G—— and Mr. C—— came to Amsterdam in the end of May, when I was there. Some days after, Mr. Stevenson came, but the rest were gone. Mr. C—— was once thought of to be sent, but was desirous to have the summer here to accomplish himself, so he and others delayed it till news could come back from Mr. Barclay, who had condescended to go; yet Mr. B. was desirous that James Lamotte, who had offered himself, should go now with him, and not delay till afterwards, which was yeilded to. Lamotte, in a line from Rotterdam this week, told me they had small or no encouragement from friends there, so that their voyage was almost several times broken, yet it pleased the Lord that on Thursday they went from Rotterdam. I wish the Lord may direct and help them, and give them counsell, and make all concerned in that cause to act only for his glory, and protect them from the fury of their bloody and ungodly enemies. I was a while in the fields alone, and after that with Mr. Melvill, whose company I liked better and better as one who seeks after and practises the ways of godliness, and may prove a worthy man otherways.

20th.—I heard Mr. How in the church, and Mr. Cross at night.

21st.—I had now read over Temple's description of the United Provinces, with their Government. I was a while walking with Mr. Brown and Sir John Thomson's son.

22d.—I was with Mr. Stevenson. We could not as yet learn that our parliament had pleased the King in granting any liberty to Papists, for that he was turning many of them out of beneficial offices and publick places of the Kingdom. The Parliament was like to do nothing thoroughly, and so neither please God nor man.

23d.—My cousin and I were with Professors de Uries and Van Moyden. I heard Mr. How, and was a while with Mr. Cameron.

24th.—Yesterday the college I had under Wittius ended.

I was a while with Robert Blackader and Mr. Melvill in Gilbert Ramsay's chamber, and seeing the Lady Carsland.

25th.—Our Law College, and all the colleges, ended this day. My cousin and I took the eight o'clock scout at night for Rotterdam. We came from Torgau at five this morning, and were at Rotterdam before eleven. I was seeing Culness and several other persons.

27th.—I heard Mr. Fleming in the Scots church, and Mr. Kirkton afternoon.

28th.—I was with old Mr. Thomas Hogg, whose company was satisfying to me, and was with other persons and ministers.

29th.—I was about the business I came for, borrowing money, which was a pain to me now when I knew I could not command my own or say I was master of it. My thoughts were perplexed how to determine in this and what course to take.

30th.—I was much with Mr. Dundass and with Mr. Dunlop, both of whom I found kind, and with Mr. James Vetch, Mr. Kirkton, Mr. George Campbell, Mr. Robert Archibald, and Mr. Carstairs.

(Thursday, 1st JULY 1686.)—I was with Ketloch, a brave Christian, and Mr. Thomas Hogg. Alexander Hastie, John Forrester, my cousin and I, took the nine hours scout for Delph, and, being a while in Mr. John Sinclair's, we came to Leyden, but missed D. Dickson, Lord Stairs, and others. We took the night scout for Utrecht; we came to Utrecht at six this morning, where we found Mr. Hume and Jerriswood just setting out for Cleves.

I was with Mr. Melvill, and my Lord Stairs, and his son David, who came last night.

3d.—I was in Sir John Thomson's.

4th.—I heard Mr. Bess, and at night Mr. Woodcock.

5th.—A little before four I left Utrecht with my cousin and Mr. Gray. We walked on foot, and before eight was in Wyck, a walled town, but not in order. From that we came to Amerugh two hours, and took up our quarters by ten.

6th.—This morning after six we came to Rhenen, where we did see the palace where the King of Bohemia with his Queen dwelt, after he was expelled by the Emperor upon his taking

the title of King. This town is in Utrecht province ; here we crossed the Rhine, and after about half an hour's walking came to Hoysen in Guelderland Province. We discoursed here near two hours with a minister who was a scholar, but seemed neither so solid nor grave as he ought to be. He told us some ministers of Guelderland had but 300 guelders a year. Before six we came to Nimuegen, the chief town of Guelderland.

*7th.*—This morning we took waggon and came to Cleves, about an hour from Nimuegen we entered Cleveland, which belongs to the Elector of Brandenburgh. We passed through a pleasant park well planted, and stored with deer and other wild beasts. At Cleves we did see the palace which was now preparing for the reception of the Elector of Brandenburgh ; from this we travelled in a kind of chaise to Wesel, having crossed the Rhine we came to Wesel at night.

I thought the country on our left hand before we crossed the Rhine much pleasanter than Holland. We met at Wesel with Mr. Dundass, Mr. Baillie, Mr. Hume, James Bruce, Kirkton, and Mr. Cuningham.

*8th*—This day the three regiments of foot that lay here were in arms, besides the townsmen, all waiting for the Elector of Brandenburgh's coming. There were of townsmen thirteen companies, and two of apprentices. The Elector came in a calash with his Dutches. The cannons upon the walls were fired several times, and the regiments also fired, and then passed all by the Court. The officers saluted the Elector and his son Philip ; he had much respect of all, and was well attended.

*9th.*—This morning the Bishop of Strasbourg came to wait upon the Elector, and went away afternoon. It was thought he was not very well taken with, being a follower of the French Interest.

*10th.*—This day I went little abroad, but to see the parade, the weather being rainy.

*11th.*—I went not abroad this day, having no occasion to hear sermon in any language I sufficiently understood.

*12th.*—This day I went to the Court, and did see the Elector at dinner with the Electress, two daughters, and his son Philip. The Elector was sore bowed and decriped, but had a lively

countenance. The Emperor's ambassador, the Duke of Holstein, and several others, sat at table with him. The courtiers were in good order and the court throng.

13th.—I was with my Lord Leven in his own chamber.

14th.—I went a while into a high Dutch sermon, where several persons about Court were hearers. I met with Stairs, President, in the church.

15th.—I was with Mr. Dundas. I was now making it my work to understand high Dutch, and to exercise arms. This day Mr. Dundas and Mr. Gray went for Rotterdam. I went about much of Wesel upon the walls; its not so large as Utrecht, but I think there are more inhabitants in it.

17th.—This day the Duke of Brandenburgh went from this to Cleves, a regiment of foot having gone before him. He with his Dutchess travelled in a little calash. The Duke had a princely carriage, and was much respected by all his ministers and people about him.

18th.—I stayed within all day.

19th.—This day all of us, viz. Mr. Baillie, Mr. Hume, Mr. Lockhart, Mr. Cunningham, Mr. Bruce, my cousin and I, with John Boyd, whom we brought with us, took boat at Wesel, and came down the Rhine to Rees, a little town standing upon the river; here we stayed a while. From this we came by water to Emmerick, where we stayed all night. This is bigger than Rees, but less than Wesel.

20th.—This morning we went into a popish church, where they were at mass. There was but about six persons, with two young boys who served the priest. He was still mumbling off a book to himself; when he spoke out it was but a few words in Latin. He frequently crossed the cup that was before him, sometimes holding it above his head that those behind him might see it. He frequently kissed the cloath that was before him, I know not what was under it, and kneeled about ten times in half an hour. There were two lighted candles before him. Then we went into the Jesuits' College, and by one of their number was taken through their lodging and gardens. They had a considerable library, and other things in good order. They were very civil in shewing us every thing. We crossed the Rhine here, and went on foot to Cleves, which is

about an hour and a half from here. At Cleves we staid in Secretarius Haggen's house untill lodgings were provided for us. He was a discreet man, and kind to our countrymen ; he would have us all sup with him this night.

21st.—This day I took a walk through a part of the Duke's park, wherein is much oak and many artificial walks cut out of the wood, with water-works.

22d.—I was this forenoon at Court, and did see the Elector sit down to dinner. The great Marshall waited on, having a long baton in his hand. After the Duke had done washing his hands before dinner, the Marshall carried away the napkin from him. The rooms of this Court are stately, the court very throng and orderly, as is said, not short of that of England. I was seeing my Lord Leven. There was news come there that there was about four thousand of the Emperor's forces killed before Buda, and many officers.

23d.—I went little out this day, except a while to see mass (for I could hear little) there being few words spoken, the priests still mumbling to themselves. There were three priests, every one at one altar, all at work.

24th.—The Prince of Orange was this day expected, but came not. Mr. Robert Murray, who had been long in prison in Scotland, came to town. There was great expectations from this meeting of the Elector of Brandenburgh and the Prince of Orange, which was to be in this place. The King began now to pursue several members of the Scots Parliament, upon pretext of being guilty of treason, but merely because they had appeared in Parliament in opposition to him, and his desire in granting liberty to Papists. Now when he could not advance his interest by a legall kind of a way, he designs by violence to make idolatry and tyranny our lot, in which course I think there is ground to hope that he and oppression shall perish, and honest men be relieved. Its just with God that some of these men be made to know what it is in justice to meet with those things which they unjustly made the lot of many innocent brave and honest men. Truly our Parliament may be said to have pleased neither God nor the King, tho they have done well in not yeilding to make religion and the country in a worse condition than formerly.

25th.—I did see the Prince of Orange come in, he had no guards with him. The townsmen were in arms, and the soldiers fired tho it was the Lord's day. Prince Philip, who went out to meet him, returned in the coach with him.

26th.—I went to Court this morning with Mr. Murray, resolving to salute the Prince of Orange. We saluted Mr. Benthem the Prince's great favourite, and on whose conduct the management of the Prince's affairs do in a great measure depend. The Prince, being throng, and having gone soon to the Elector, we had no access to salute him. I did see them dine, the Prince sat above the Elector. There was now two Marshalls attending with their staves. There was about 24 dish of meat at one service.

27th.—I was also this day much at Court, which was very throng. I asked how it was by the Court of England; it was said to go far beyond England. I went to the park with Mr. Murray. I did see them sup; the Elector came not to supper, neither used they suppers before the Prince of Orange came.

28th.—This morning the Prince of Orange went away for Nimuegen, where the Review of the Hollands army was to be the next week. It was not expected that the Prince of Orange would have left his court so soon.

All kinds of corns here seem but ordinary, and worse than they used to be in Scotland. They have much buckit,<sup>1</sup> which grows well here. From a height above the town we had a fine sight of all the country about, and of much of the Rhine. The whole country was full of wood and artificial planting; there is at one end of the town a lime-tree curiously dressed and divided in its branches, and gouths yet better than that at Rees. The land here is very sandy.

29th.—I was a while walking towards Prince Maurice's house. I met with Mr. William Carstairs, who came this week to the town.

Spaden, a Baron, was Governour of Cleves under the Elector, and Lieutenant General of his forces. There was severall parties among the Elector's ministers of state, many of them being Spaden's enemies, Deest, the Elector's Ambassador for

<sup>1</sup> Buckwheat.

Holland, being amongst his greatest enemies. Spaden stood chiefly by the Prince of Orange.

30th.—Dr. Gilbert Burnet, who was chiefly famous for writing the History of the Church of England, came this week to the Court. He was scarcely an hour come when he saluted the Elector, and soon made acquaintance with most of the courtiers, tho the Elector seemed not to take much notice of him. There was one Sidney here with the Prince of Orange, he is brother to Algernon who was executed by the late King. Some here thought he was here upon no good design, but sent by the King of Britain in order to this meeting of the Prince with the Elector, which the King designed to have stopt, and sent to the Prince for that effect. Others said that he had left England upon some private discontent, and was going for Italy. He was much with the Prince, waiting well on him, and sat at the Elector's table; he had no attendance, and so probably had no publick character.

31st.—I did see here the Master of Yester and his brother John, who were this day presented to the Duke. I met with my Lord Colvill, and Mr. Brown, who came this day.

The wheat and bear here was almost all cut down and led.

In Cleveland none but Calvinists had access to places of trust or to be magistrates, tho the people be almost all papists: in Mark land, which also belongs to Brandenburgh, the Lutherans bear publick offices. In the town of Cleves there is only one Calvinist church, and a small congregation of Lutherans.

(LORD'S DAY, 1st August 1686.)—I was hearing a High Dutch sermon, but understood very little.

2d.—I went to Borgendal, where Prince Maurice, I think, grand uncle to the Prince of Orange, was buried. I saw also severall Roman urns with ashes in them, there being inscriptions on them anent the dead Romans.

3d.—This day severall of us hired two waggons to go to the camp in Mockerhide, about a mile from Nimuegen, where about 22,000 horse and foot of the army belonging to the United Provinces were encamped. We passed through a little town called Cranenburg, which is half way. The front of the

camp looked towards the Spanish Netherlands. We went through the lines, the length of the lines was I think more than one Scots mile, but not a mile and an half. We saw some regiments come to take up their ground, which before was marked out with sticks for the place of every tent, with the distances of streets and tents. We went afterwards to Nimuegen, where we staid all night. The town was very throng, people having come very far to see this review. There were severall English, and I met with some of our countrymen.

4th.—We came from Nimuegen this morning to the camp. The Elector of Brandenburgh was there, with his Dutchess; they passed the first and second lines in a calash, open before, and then halted till the first line and part of the second passed the review.

The Princess of Orange was not here, as was said, because, being a King's daughter, she stood on giving the Dutchess of Brandenburgh the place. There was in the two lines about 30 regiments of Foot and 24 regiments of Horse; and 8 or 10 of Dragoons. The Dragoons were upon the right and left outmost, both in the camp and when they were drawn up in order of battle, next to them the horse, and in the middle the foot.

At night we returned to Nimuegen.

5th.—We returned to the camp this morning. There was a mock fight betwixt the first and second lines, the cannons having first fired on both sides, then one regiment came out from the second line and another met them, and so gradually both the armys met regiment by regiment, there being never more in one battalion than one regiment. After some Horse had charged as if they had been broke, they made up one body with Dragoons and charged again. The foot fired for most part by platoons, keeping still rank and file; after this both the lines fired by regiments, beginning at the right. I came to the town with my Lord Colvill and Robert Craig, and did see severall curiositys in the Stadthouse. There was the pictures of most of the ambassadors who were at the making up of the peace of Nimuegen in 1672 and 73. We did see stones with severall Roman inscriptions, found near the town, and now built in a wall within the Stadthouse.

6th.—I staid all this day in Nimuegen, there being little or nothing worth the seeing done in the camp.

There was yesternight a man taken and kept bound hand and foot in a tent. He had been in England with Monmouth, and was in the placard of banishment emitted by the States against many of these.

This camp, with the meeting of the Elector with the Prince of Orange, has made a great noise through most of Europe, and did chiefly alarm France and England, who did endeavour to prevent the meeting of those Princes.

7th.—This forenoon I came to the camp, the army was drawn out in four lines upon a rising ground. Afternoon we left the camp, and came to Cleves at night.

8th.—I heard no preaching this day. Messrs. Balfour, Ogilvie, James Robertson, and Gilbert Ramsay, came from the camp to this. I was with them.

9th.—I went this day to Borgendall with the above-mentioned gentlemen. The Elector with all his court went for Wesel this day. I went to see the rooms of the Court with Mr. Robertson, etc. We found an inscription upon stone in the great hall, importing that Julius Cæsar had built the Castle of Cleves. The Romans possessed this town a long time.

10th.—My cousin and I convoyed Messrs. Balfour, Robertson, and Ramsay, through the wood, on their way to Nimuegen. My cousin and I were now alone in the town, waiting for an auction of books.

11th.—We were much of this day waiting upon the auction. Mr. Lockhart came back this day from Wesel, and told us the Elector went from that yesterday for Berlin. He left his son Philip, who was to go to the university of Leyden.

12th.—Mr. Lockhart, my cousin, and I, were invited by Secretary Hagen to dinner: he was very kind to all our countrymen, particularly to those who went under the name of Dissenters, and [were] persecuted for their principles.

13th.—My cousin and I came to Santen, five hours from Cleves, where we stayed all night.

We got account here how the French came to Cleves in 1679, and destroyed the whole country, so that the people thought they were still not like to recover the loss they then

sustained. The French did ordinarily take out the people's goods, and offered to burn them if they would not pay such sums as they set upon them. The great Popish church in this town paid them a very great sum for its ransom, they spared papist no more than protestant.

14th.—This morning we went to see the popish church, which was well furnished, having many altars. We came this forenoon to Wesel. Here we met with Sir Patrick Home and Mr. Henderson, who were come through Germany from Geneva. Walter Stewart, Coltness' son, was also here. There was here 13 of us Scots men that dited together, there also being some others in the town. I went about a part of the town to see the new fortifications. There was now another regiment come to help forward the works, so there was four in the town.

15th.—I heard no preaching this day.

16th.—I was seeing the parade.

17th.—This morning at eight I took horse with Sir Patrick Home, Mr. Steinson, and my cousin, and came to Doesburg; the town is not considerable. The only university which is in Cleveland is here: there will be but about 100 students in all; it is five hours from Wesel, and lies a little off the Rhine. From this we came to Dusseldorf. Cleves ended, and we came into the Duke of Newburgh's land at Radting, two hours from Dusseldorf. We came all the way from Doesburg to this through woods, being mostly oak trees of a good growth. Cleveland to the end was but barren.

18th.—We went out this morning and did see a Jesuits' College, where they taught Latin and Rhetorick. They had a house of a large fabrick, fitter for some Prince than for them; they had a fine church, which had ten long pillars of free stone, with large statues of their apostles, and others, round the church. We did see the Duke's palace, which they called the Castle; it stood pleasantly upon the Rhine, and had a ditch upon the other side. I did see a burial in this order, 1st a boy carrying a crucifix upon a pole, then a number of school-boys, then another crucifix of silver; after it priests and friers of several orders; then the corps, carried upon men's shoulders, and about the coffin 14 boys with black cloaks, carrying wax candles lighted (to let them see at ten o'clock forenoon), then

one person in deep mourning, then six or seven also in deep mourning, with their cloaks trailing, then about 100 persons, all in long black cloaks, going in threes, then about as many women in twos, with their beads in their hands.

The town stood close upon the Rhine, a mile or two below. We had the sight of a town from the walls called Keysarwaert. Upon the road without the town there are a number of little chapels with images, and such popish fancies; there are some of those upon the whole road. There is in the town about eleven hundred men in garrison; it seems to be well fortified. We left the town at eleven, and came to Colonge, the chief town of the Bishop of Colonge, one of the Ecclesiastical electors. We crossed the Rhine about half an hour from Dusseldorf. The country between Dusseldorf and Colonge is not so much planted as at Cleves, yet there is some about houses. I see here few or no gentlemen's houses in the country; the soil is still barren and sandy, about the city of Collongue it is some better. There is in the fields near the town the greatest quantity of pot herbs that ever I did see, there being great abundance of common kail. The city is large and beautiful, being full of large churches and chapels, roofed with blue skellie. It stands close upon the Rhine, a small part of the town being on the north side. It is fortified. We were in the great church, which was 56 paces broad, there being in the breadth six pillars, and where the cross was, in the middle of the church (it being in form of a cross), eight pillars.

19th.—We went to a steeple and viewed the town. They say here that the bodies of the three wise men who came out of the east to see Christ are here; they give them the following names,—King Melchior, King Baltazar, and King \_\_\_\_.<sup>1</sup> We did see something like the pows of three men, which they said were these men: they were enclosed in a rich box, set with many precious stones, and the star whereby they were directed made up of diamonds, which was pretty. There was about them much superstition used; several people were waiting to get such things as they had brought with them sanctified by a

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<sup>1</sup> Gaspar.

touch of those men's pows: some of the people looked as if they had come off a journey. At the ordinary and appointed hour for that work there came one who opened the door, and having got lighted candles within, made way for our seeing the famous sight. We stood without and looked through a tirlice. The people gave in medalls and beads, which were touched, the man holding the things to be touched with a pair of tongs, touched the three heads. We did here see much and gross superstition. We were in a church where they say there are eleven thousand Ursuline sisters buried, who were killed by the Huns, and this should have been done in the third century.

About midday my cousin and I put Mr. Stevenson on his way to Aken, where he was to meet with Melvill and Stair at the wells.

We then came on our way to Dusseldorf. There was little corn about Collonge which was not both cut and lead, we did see some vineyards there. Several times I did see one man both holding the plough and cawing,<sup>2</sup> and one ox drawing.

Having crossed the Rhine, we came to Dusseldorf toward night, where the Prince Palatine, eldest son to the Elector of Palatine, was come. We went to the Court at night, and did see the Prince at supper, with the Princess, the Emperor's sister, and the Prince's two brothers.

20th.—This morning we left Dusseldorf and crossed the Rhine at Keysarwaert, which is a little town well fortified standing on the Rhine. We afterwards came to Rhineberg, a strong town, and then to Wesel.

21st.—We left Wesel and came to Cleves.

22d.—I heard no preaching. I understood many people were much taken with Raw, the English quaker (if not Jesuit, some affirm). He insinuated himself here by his discourses of, and pretensions to, religion and humility; and did, after his own deceitfull way, preach not to allow the King of England's courses, which he knew would relish here with many. Several who saw him engaged to go with him to America: they took him to be an Earl. I did all I could, with what language I

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<sup>1</sup> Driving.

had, to bring him into disrespect, finding he did so clearly dissemble in his principles, whereby he did the sooner gain upon the best and most religious people here.

23d.—This morning we left Cleves and came to Nimuegen: afternoon we took boat and came down the Wall: landing at Auchta, we lodged a little beyond Till. The Rhine divides a little below Cleves in two channels, that towards the south, which is the broadest and deepest, is called the Wall, the other, towards the north, keeps the name of Rhine: they meet again near Dort, and joining with the Maes, and running all in one, are called the Maes, and fall into the sea at the Briel.

24th.—This morning we went first to see Bouring, an Earldom belonging to the Prince of Orange: it lies in Guelder-land, but depends upon no Province. There is a pretty little town on it called Bouring. We crossed the river about two hours from this, and came to Utrecht afternoon. I met with Robert Ferguson, who had been banished from Scotland, and had lately come from Lunenburg, where my brother was.

25th.—I was seeing the Lady Carsland, Mr. Melvill, and severall others.

26th.—This day the publick lessons began, and I was hearing De Uries and seeing Van Moyden.

27th.—I did set this day apart for God's service, that I might mourn over my sins and call upon him by fasting and prayer. The condition of his church calls for many such days from those who pretend to be sons and daughters of Zion, and are called by the name of the Lord; yea, my own condition requires much my being humbled before God, and calling upon him for pardon of bygone iniquity, and for grace and strength, that I may be able through the course of my life to guard against sin, and live so to him, as that in the end I may have ground to rejoice that in my life and death his glory has been advanced. O but our works here be imperfect, and we are most ready to forget some part of our duty to him, being ordinarily little thankfull or not praising him for his goodness and wonderfull works to the children of men: yea, it is the more strange, and we the less to be excused, that those duties, even beyond others, are in a manner

extorted out of us, and prest upon us, by what we daily see and know of him in his wonderfull actings in the world, and towards every creature in particular.

28th.—I was a while with two Dutch young men.

29th.—I heard Dr. Burnet preach in the English Church, and at night heard the Dutch examin.

30th.—This day most of the private colleges began.

31st.—I was at Witsius college, which begun this day.

(SEPTEMBER 1ST, 1686, Wednesday.)—This day the college upon the Institutes began. Van Moyden had many of Hoot's scholars, who was now going to Leyden to be Professor there.

2d.—I had now a college upon the first part of the Pandex, and so in all I had three, two of Law, and one in Divinity, beside publick lessons.

3d.—This day Polwarth and his son, Mr. Baillie, Mr Cunningham, and Mr. Henderson came here. Young Polwarth, Mr. Baillie, and Mr. Cunningham went for Rotterdam.

4th.—This morning Polwarth and Mr. Henderson went also for Rotterdam.

5th.—I heard a sermon in Dutch, and was at the Dutch examin.

6th.—De Uries was now treating of Britain in his publick lessons, he was sometimes partial, or at best not well informed.

7th.—This week Witsius had no college, there being in this place a synod or meeting of the clergy.

8th.—Mr. George Barclay was now returned from Scotland: I heard he was minded to go back. The country was now fit to be wrought upon, in order to their receiving a right impression of religion, and willing to be instructed and have ministers among them, and desirous to have the growth of popery stopped in Scotland. Mr. Rannie was still there opposing himself to those who would not come his length in throwing off all masters: a few that were serious went that length with him.

9th.—We had now the news of Buda's being taken from the Turk. It was remarked it was taken by the Turk 144 years before this, on the second of September, being that same day it was taken now. It was thought that the taking of it would

conduce much to weaken the French and so the Popish interest. The Emperor lost many men in taking of it, Brandenburgh had great loss of men.

Mr. Cuningham came from Amsterdam. I kept him with me.

10th.—I was with Mr. Cuningham, who went to his sister's and staid there.

11th.—I was seeing Robert Chiesly, who was now kept at home with the gout. I was in James Johnstoun's fencing school.

12th.—I heard Mr. Mead in the English church, his text was Ephes. 1. 18 and 19. He preached well, insisting particularly against the Arminians.

I was at night hearing the Dutch examine.

13th.—Mr. Cuningham went for Wesel: I went to the Nimuegen waggon with him.

14th.—I was seeing the cadets exercise, which they did neatly and with a great many French conceits. They exercised by tuck of drum, and fired severall times.

15th.—Mr. John Wilson was with me. He was lately come from England, and was continuing his studies of medicine here. I was a while with Mr. John Sinclair, son to Sir —— Sinclair of Steinson, who was a student of Law here. Mr. Patrick Sinclair was his Governor.

16th.—I find I have much ado, with the time I have free from colleges, to read up as I ought all I have to read upon the Institutes, the Pandex, and college of Divinity.

17th.—James Johnston was a while with us and Mr. Neilson. The King of Denmark, some weeks ago, brought an army of about 18 thousand men, and on a sudden, without declaring war, or his design otherways, he besieged Hamburg (neither could it be said to be really besieged, they having still some ports open), having with his bombs destroyed a mill and other things without the town. Brandenburgh and Lunenburgh hearing of this, hasten'd to the citie's assistance, Lunenburgh having many of his forces near the city at that time, acted presently against Denmark, so that in a few days the King retired to Altena, and now the game was like to turn against the King, the Emperour, Brandenburgh, etc. beginning to

motion the taking of the Dukedom of Holstein from him, and restoring the true heir.

19th.—I heard Mr. Bess in the church, and at night the Dutch examin. The weather was already beginning to be cold and rainie.

20th.—Last week I had account from Wesel, that of the 7000 men that Brandenburgh had sent this year to the assistance of the Emperour against the Turks, there was only 1500 remaining, most of his best officers being killed.

21st.—I met with George Gibb, who came from Scotland the last week. He said the country was in great quiet, but they looked for some considerable alteration now when the Chancellour was come from Court.

22d.—I was a while in company with Carsland, who staid with his mother about an hour out of the town, but came to no college.

23d.—I was with Mr. Henderson and Mr. Arthur Thomson.

24th.—This week it came to me in the disputory college of law; my being more concerned in it than was needfull, was like to hinder me in my other studies.

25th.—I was at night with Mr. Henderson and Cameron.

26th.—I heard Witsius in Dutch, and at night Mr. Cross in Mr. Howe's house.

27th.—I was with Mr. George Wishart, who was going to serve as a soldier at Lipstadt, under Brandenburgh.

28th.—We heard of the King of England's falling in an apoplexy, and being scarified.

29th.—This morning Mr. Baillie and Mr. Shaw went to During, where the Prince of Orange was at present. I was taken up with Lord Colvill, causing write and dispatch some papers, anent chusing his curators, for Scotland.

30th.—Robert Blackader left this city, with a design to stay some where in Friesland. This day I met with Blackhall's two sons who were come here to study the law.

(Friday, OCTOBER 1st, 1686.)—I can say little now of this day, or other days in particular, which is not almost common to every day, being ordinarily taken up in going to college, read-

ing at home, and sometimes seeing friends, which is for most part common to all.

3d.—I was with Captain Thomson, who had been with Monmouth in England.

4th.—Jariswood and young Polwarth came from Diring, and went straight to Amsterdam, the Lady Polwarth being at Amsterdam.

5th.—I went little abroad, and was at night with Colvill.

6th.—James Haddow, a Scots student, had a publick dispute this day. I [was] with Mr. Drummond, who came from Amsterdam.

7th.—I went little abroad.

8th.—I was seeing the Lady Carsland, and with my Lord Sinclair's brother, and Mr. Bowne.

9th.—I was with Mr. Neilson and Andrew Turnbull.

10th.—I heard Mr. Bess in the English church, and Mr. How in his own house.

11th.—I was with young Blackhall, Captain Thomson and Mr. George Blair, who came this day from Amsterdam.

12th.—I was with Mr. Blair in the Lady Carsland's.

13th.—I was with Mr. Henderson. My Lord Colvill, Mr. Henderson, my cousin and I dited together.

14th.—This day a Frenchman, who was to be admitted Professor of church history, had an oration in the publick auditory, where the members of the college, the magistrates of Province and City were present.

I did read Dutch with Mr. Telfer, who gave me considerable help.

15th.—I went to Amsterdam with an English Irishman, and Walter Seaton. I lodged in James Thomson's. Jerriswood and young Polwarth came to our quarters.

16th.—I returned in the scout and was in Mr. Blair's, and seeing Mr. Sinclair, his wife, and daughter. I met Mr. John Lamotte, [who] was returned from Scotland, and young Leny's son.

18th.—This night we entered into a society and order [by] which we designed close amity. All the members were to maintain four principalls, viz., Liberty, religion, loyalty and honour, all which were explained and cleared at the first erection. There

were only present Mr. Sinclair, his wife, son and daughter, Messrs. Baillie, Wâlder Seaton, John Lamotte, James Wishart, and myself. We had severall signs whereby to know one another, every member having the seal and badge of the order. This was a merry story, yet the members of such a society may increase. I heard Mr. S. give account of that business for which he had been much reflected on by many, as if he had been deserting that interest which he had so long owned, offering to make his peace and seeking a pardon. He said a friend had wrote to him from Scotland, and desired him to employ R. Barclay, who had been formerly his friend, for getting him some favour, and included in the indemnity, which was said to be coming out; upon which design of his friend more than his own inclination or expectation of it, he wrote to Robert Barclay anent the affair, but told them they needed not expect he would enter upon any terms with them, nor think of his making any discoverys, which letter came to the King's hands, and Sir James Kennedy the Scots conservator was ordered to speak with Mr. S—, and did meet with him, offering to procure him a safe-conduct if he would go over, but he refused to go over, and would not take Sir James' offer for any conduct, but he himself wrote to Melfort, the Secretary, refusing such proposals. To this letter he received no return, so it stands. He thought it was too great a length, seeing people had taken offence, tho' his chief design was to satisfie his friend.

19th.—I went to the Harlem scout with Mr. Sinclair's wife, and then came for the Utrecht scout, but finding the Heer Van Soilas Yacht returning empty, I came in it with Mr. Young, Leny's son, Walter Seaton, John Lamotte, who stayed with me.

20th.—I had little time to read, being busyed with company. I met with Mr. Hamilton, Wishaw's [son], who was entered a student of law.

21st.—John Lamotte and Mr. Henderson went for Rotterdam.

22d.—There was now no small suspicion that there would be a war betwixt England and the United Provinces. The States are loth to offend the King or give him any reason against them, yea, that they might not displease him yeilding

in several cases where their treaty did not bind them, while he stood not to go beyond its limits. Many blamed the States and the Prince as being mean in their dealings with him, and the King had now entertained and protected in some of his ports two Algerine pirates who had been pursued by the Dutch, and did give them a convoy of two ships, which the Dutch did take very ill. I had now seen an imperious letter of the King's which he had sent to the council of Scotland, commanding them and all magistrates to protect the papists in the exercise of their religion in houses, and allowing them a chapel in the palace of Edinburgh, which accordingly was preparing for that use. All such favours the late Parliament had positively refused.

23d.—I was with a gentleman whose father lives and has an interest near Belfast in Ireland. That country is now near ruined by the increase and growing insolent power of Papists, there being scarcely a Protestant officer or soldier in Ireland, so that there is more reason to fear a massacre than there was before the last rebellion and massacre, so that unless the Lord work in an extraordinary way there seems to be no remedy for the recovery of that land.

24th.—I heard Mr. How in the English church, and Mr. Cross at night.

25th.—I was a while with Mr. Young, and at night with Mr. William Carstairs and Mr. Chiesly.

26th.—I heard two students deliver orations in Mr. How's, one pleading for the advantage of peace, and the other for war.

27th.—Yesterday I was seeing a young child which few could distinguish whether male or female, the physicians having determined for the child being male; it was born at Rotterdam.

28th.—I had now little to observe anent my own work, it being daily the same, but there are many things remarkable anent publick alterations and changes, which I think to observe more particularly after this.

29th.—I went little abroad this week. Skelton, the King of England's resident, was now called home by the King, as was said, with a design to send him Resident to France, and the

Marquis de Abeville, nobilitated by the King of Spain, was come in his place. This new one was an Irish Papist, and had been formerly a captain in the Spanish Netherlands.

30th.—I was with Mr. Young, Mr. Sinclair, and Seaton, etc.

31st.—I heard Mr. Bess and Mr. How at night, after sermon James Johnstoun was a while with me.

(Monday, 1st NOVEMBER 1686.)—Afternoon I was with Mr. Thomson, Sir John's son.

2d.—De Uries, in his publick lessons of politicks, ended England, on which he had been all this college, two days in the week. The next day of that subject he was to begin Spain. This night I was hearing Laytt's Astronomy lesson.

3d.—John Guthrie returned hither from Rotterdam.

4th.—The multitude of Scots and English students was a great hindrance to the studies of those who did keep themselves much retired from company.

5th.—My cousin was received a brother of our order, letting him know the principles and giving him the signs, and were to send for the badge for him, he being of full age, and esteemed deserving.

6th.—After our disputation college I went to the fields with Pardiven.

7th.—I heard an edifying sermon from Mr. Mead in the English church, and at night heard Mr. How.

8th.—John Lamotte staid with me.

One, Dr. Hamilton, and Mr. Robert Cunningham, were now come from Geneva to this, who brought the news that the Protestants of the vallies of Piedmont had condescended to leave that country, the Duke of Savoy having given them 5 chief officers as pledges, whom they kept at Geneva, untill all who would embrace those terms were safely removed. The Switzers did receive the people of Piedmont.

9th.—Mr. Blair was here from Amsterdam.

10th.—I went to see the Lady Kersland at Iselston, two hours from the city, it was a little town with old walls and a ditch, near Viana.

11th.—Yesterday William Sythrum came from Rotterdam, having brought letters from my cousins and my friends.

12th.—The weather had been pleasant and fair untill now that it was rainie and windy.

13th.—This day it was my turn in the disputation college, it was a considerable trouble, at least a needless vexation, till it was over.

14th.—I heard only one sermon, which was from Mr. Cross in the English church. Mr. How was from home.

15th.—We heard of the discovery of a design against the Prince of Orange by some of the greatest men in Europe. I had not heard certainly or particularly about it.

16th.—I heard De Uries lesson on the Metaphysics, when he treated accurately and distinctly of free will, against Arminianism, etc. William Sythrum went back for Rotterdam.

17th.—We heard of the King's determining some magistrates in Scotland at his pleasure, and that he had by a letter discharged the Synod of Edinburgh to sit.

18th.—Mr. Brodie was a while with me.

19th.—I kept at home, and was not troubled with diversiments this week.

20th.—I did now wait upon De Uries college while he was treating of the existence of God, and the union of the soul and body. We heard of a great inundation at Groningen, the sea having broke over the dykes and drown'd much of the country.

21st.—I heard Mr. Mead and Mr. Cross in the English church.

22d.—I did still keep de Uries Metaphysics colledge at night.

23d.—I was with Mr. Young at night.

24th.—After de Uries college, I walked on the wall with Mr. Brodie, who told of his being informed that I had spoke a little too freely of publick affairs, which I cannot yet be convinced of untill I hear the words and have some evidence of their being mine, having several times resolved against rash and idle talking that way, and not remembering that I had now failed that way. I will justifie no idle or rash words and reflections at any time or against any person, much less against any in authority, tho there were many things in them blame worthy, its not every person's part nor always their duty to speak of those things.

25th.—We had now got the certain news that the King, by his letter, had determined who should be magistrates of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and caused change the magistrates of other burghs through Scotland where those in office at present were not thought fit for the court designs. The Chancellour was forward in getting this design through.

26th.—I did daily hear De Uries: he was now upon the attributes of God. I was with George Gibb.

27th.—This day I was defender in our disput College of Law.

28th.—I heard Mr. How in the church, and Mr. Cross at night.

29th.—We heard the King of France's distemper continued with him, and that there was an incision made upon his body, after which he grew better.

30th.—At night I was with Lord Colvill.

(Wednesday, 1st DECEMBER 1686.)—I was with Lamotte at night. I met with Mr. George Turnbull.

2d.—Mr. Scroup, an Englishman, was a while with me.

3d.—I was with Mr. Melvill.

4th.—Two English men had publick disputes this day.

5th.—I heard Mr. Mead in the church, and Mr. How at night in his own house.

6th.—We had frequent accounts of the King of France's disease and the danger he was in, and some reports of his being dead.

7th.—The Parliament of England was now adjourned untill February. We had little from Scotland except that of placing magistrates of burghs at his pleasure.

8th.—I heard Mr. Mead in the English church. There was a sermon to be there every Wednesday by Mr. How or Mr. Mead, which liberty of preaching in the church weekly they had lately obtained from the magistrate.

9th.—I begun to learn French with Mr. George Turnbull.

10th.—Mr. Neilson was with me.

11th.—Two English students, Messrs. Scroup and Woodcock, had publick disputes.

12th.—I heard Mr. How in the church, and went to a Dutch church at night.

13th.—This day Witsius ended his college.

14th.—I was seeing a little man who was but two feet and a half high, he is a Switzer, he weighs 60 pounds, his age 36 years.

15th.—I was hearing De Uries Metaphysics.

16th.—Our college on the first 19 books of the Pandex was ended. Its a custom that those who keep the Disputary College give the Professor a treat when it is ended, I was present at it at dinner and supper, and staid with them untill midnight. There was sixteen of us, and it cost us about 100 guelders.

17th.—Our college upon the Institutes ended this day. The college was not to sit again before the 10th of February.

18th.—My cousin and Mr. William Fleming went for Rotterdam. I was with Mr. Robert Ramsay, an honest man and student of law.

19th.—I heard Mr. Mead and Mr. How.

20th.—I was seeing Mr. Chiesly, who was ill of the gout.

21st.—I was with Mr. Melvill.

22d.—I went to Isselton and saw the Lady Carsland.

23d.—I went about the town in half an hour, it is a Barony belonging to the Prince of Orange, and not subject to the Province of Utrecht. The chief magistrate is called the Drost, the minister of the place De Graf was in the Lady's: he is reckoned among the ablest in the country: speaking of Yule, he told me he was not for keeping it, yet pleaded for the practise of their ministers in preaching on that day untill it was abrogated by their church, and seeing the speaking of one or severalls of them against it, or their practise in not preaching, could avail little to take it away. He said some used to speak against it in their meetings; he said also, if they did not preach, people would be idle all that day, and blame them for the effects of their drinking and other debaucheries.

24th.—I was seeing the minister de Graf, who was discreet, and seemed to be an intelligent man. Afternoon I came to Utrecht.

25th.—I dined with my landlord, for tho it was Yule, I had no will to disoblige them by refusing. There was preaching in all the churches. The ministers, in their sermons on Yule, did

frequently speak against the observation of it as holier than other days.

26th.—I heard a sermon in their Lutheran church, and Mr. Cross at night. I did see the sacrament given in the French church. The minister read the institution, and a discourse upon it from a book: the minister did first take the sacrament alone, then the men came to the table and did communicate standing; the minister gave the bread to some before others who were to communicate at that table had come near; the men did all take it before the women began; the minister had no discourse for exhorting and upstirring betwixt the tables, or while they did communicate. The minister preached with his hat on, which all the French do: the Lutheran minister's text was Isai. 9. 6, they being obliged to preach upon the birth of Christ upon these days.

27th.—My cousin was returned from Holland: he brought news from the Hague that all those officers who, about two months ago had set upon Captain Paton at Rotterdam, were now either absconding or under arrest, and its thought some of them may go near to die, for now the King of E. disowns that deed, and pretends that he will keep as near and good a correspondence with the States of Holland as any of his neighbours.

Its reported that he will go to Scotland in the Spring. There is now no such talking in this country of a war with England as was of late.

28th.—Mr. Nypton, and Mr. Adair, student of medicine at Leyden, were with me. They heard from Ireland lately that there was processions there in their considerable towns.

29th.—I was a while upon the ice with Colville and Lamotte. I was seeing Mr. Brodie, and in his chamber met with Mr. Alexander Cunningham, Governour to Lord George Douglass, who was a pretty scholar, and understanding man many ways, but of late was turned lax and extravagant in his principles. Speaking of the late King's religion, he told a story, that the King of France, about a year before King Charles' death, told—the King of England against such a time would declare himself Papist: but his designs on which the doing of that depended not having succeeded, he did not declare himself, so that the

King of France was dissapointed; however, this was talked in France.

31st.—This day I had set apart from my ordinary work on other days, and did keep it as a day of fasting and prayer before God. I went out a little at midday to avoid suspicion, being desirous to keep it quiet and without noise.

(JANUARY 1st, 1687, Saturday.)—Afternoon I was seeing Mr. Chiesly, and at night with Mr. Adair, Mr. Ramsay, and Mr. Melvill.

2d.—I heard Mr. Cross, there was no sermon in Mr. How's.

3d.—Mr. Cleland came here from Wesel.

4th.—I was seeing Professor Van Mastricht who was most civil and kind to me, and usefull company.

5th.—My cousin and I was with our Professor: he gave us account of many customs of this country and of the power of the Prince over the Provinces, which was great over all, and lately augmented in severall Provinces, especially over Utrecht, since the French war in 1672.

6th.—The Earl of Rochester, Treasurer of England, was now turned out of that office, as it is said because he refused to turn Papist, having after a debate betwixt some Papists and Protestant divines of his chusing, allowed of by the King, declared he was still more confirmed of the truth of the Protestant religion.

7th.—I went now but seldom from my chamber, being earnest to have Turreten read through. I delighted much in him, and did take short deduction of every question in writing.

8th.—I was with Mr. Hastie before his going away. Mr. Brodie and Mr. Sandilands were a while with me.

9th.—I heard Mr. Mead in the church, he touched a little on Millenary opinions. I heard Mr. How at night, who was upon the opposite strain, and spoke against peoples expecting or relying upon such appearances, yea, he went near to be against the using of means for effectuating such changes as may with ground be expected both in church and civil affairs.



## APPENDIX I.

### 1. INDICTMENT of HARRY LORD CARDROSS, before the LORDS OF PRIVY COUNCIL.

*At Edinburgh, 5th August 1675.*

After the recital of the Acts against conventicles and those who frequented them, the document proceeds thus:—

‘ Notwithstanding it is of verity that—Lord Cardross, — Stewart his lady, Mistris Margaret Erskine his sister, Hary Milne in Cardrose, John M’Echen there, John Keir at the miln of Cardros, John Wright there, Patrik Keir, gardner, — Ure, wobster, John Andersons, elders and younger ther, John Ure, wobster in the Maines, James Ure, webster there, John Harvy, servant to Cardros, Alex<sup>r</sup> Ure ther, a webster’s sone, James Somervale ther, Andro Ure at the Bot of Cardros, James Yuile there, Robert Hendry there, Robert Sandes there, Hary Dow of Poldar, John Ures, elder and younger, in the park of Carden, Robert Buchanan in Carden, Arthur Dowgall in Armanuell, John Knox there, Thomas Lockhart in Ladieland, James Ure at the burn of Arnprior, Robert Gourlay of Kipdarroch, his dochteris and servantes, Alex<sup>r</sup> Buchanan in Bucklevy, David Robison in Deshore, James Anderson ther, Thomas Lockhart in Burther, James Buchanan in Shingartoun, — Buchanan his sone, John Ure in Dub, Robert Munoch ther, William Tayleour ther, Robert Cristall there, William Cowy ther, Robert Murdoch ther, John Carvie ther, David Erskein, servitour to the Lord Cardrose, Jonet Crichtoun, the ladies gentlewoman, — Colvill, servitrix ther, — — — groom to the Lord Cardrose, Thomas Fraser, somtymes servitour ther, John Morison, his servitour, and diverse uther tenents or servants to the Lord Cardrose, upon the 25 of July last, 26, 27 and remanent dayes of the said moneth, and upon the first, second, and remanent dayes of the monethes of August, September,

October, November, and December 1674, January, February, March, Apryle, and May last, and June, or upon one or other of the dayes of the saides monethes, were present at diverse house and feild conventicles keeped at the house of Cardrose, at James Somervale's house, at the boat of Cardrose, at Armanuell, and Kippen, at the mosse near Carden, at the mosse of Flanderis near to Cardrose, at Auchinbowy and Deny, and at James Rowes house in Lachro<sup>1</sup> paroch, at which conventicles Mr. John King, chaplan to the said Lord Cardros, Mr. Archibald Riddell, Mr. John Welsh, Mr. —— Law, or some other oued or not licensed ministers, or one or uther of them, did take upon them to preach, pray, and expound Scripture. And the said Mr. John King, chaplain to the Lord Cardrose, being in the moneth of June 1674, by order of his Maiesties privy councill seized upon, apprehendit, and imprisoned in the tolbuith of Edinburgh for keeping of conventicles and uther disorders in and about the house of Cardrose, wherupon he being examined did confesse his keeping of conventicles in the house of Cardrose, and he haveing ingaged himself under his hand not to keep any conventicles thereafter, and upon his finding of caution under the payne of fyve hundred merks to compear before the Councell when he should be called, the Lordis of Council did grant him liberty. Bot no sooner wes the said Mr. John at liberty bot he did return to his former seditious practises in keiping of frequent conventicles within the house of Cardros and the boundes and lands belonging thereto, and committing diverse uther disorders for quwhich he being by order of the privy councill conveeneed before the commissioners of Councell at Stirling, upon the 18 August 1674, and his cautioner called to exhibit him. The said Mr. John King for his not comparance was declared fugitive and rebell and his cautioner unlawed. The said Mr. John King being the tyme of his citation before the saides commissioners within the house of Cardrose, and after the said Mr. John wes declared fugitive in maner forsaid, there being letters of caption and uther orders direct furth for seizing upon his person, ffor execution wherof, upon the —— day of May last bypast, ther being a party of foot of his Maiesties regiment of guardes lyeing at Stirling sent to the landes of Cardrose, where it wes informed the said Mr. John did ordinarily haunt and frequent and keep conventicles, the said party of foot did apprehend the person of the said Mr. John King

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<sup>1</sup> Lecropt.

in the day tyme, in the house at the boat of Cardrose, and having taken from him his sword and secured him prisoner, and the party haveing given signe to some horsmen to come to their assistance who were lyeing at some distance. Notice haveing come to the house of Cardrose, where the Lord Cardrose, his lady and sister were for the tyme, that the said Mr. John King wes taken prisoner, the Lady Cardroses nurse, her gentlewoman, and severale uther women came out of the house of Cardrose to the house where the prisoner was, being a very little distance, and pressed the party to lett the prisoner goe, and the party haveing indevoured to keep them off with the hunting Staffes they had in their handes, and being necessitat to thrust the women off them one of the women said, Ye darr not for your hanging sturr my lordes nurse nor my ladyes gentlewoman,—and the party haveing taken the prisoner out of the house, they attempted by violence to rescue him, and they being gone a litle from the house to the crossing of the watter, the rest of the Lord Cardros servantes came runing from the house of Cardrose, some of them upon the party, and utheris runing in haste throw the countrey to raise the people, and the party haveing indevoured to gett off the prisoner, they took the most secure way as they conceaved throw the moss of Flanderis, they seing the people in all partes conveening in great numbers, who did continually increse upon the party and followed them close upon the heells within the distance of a picklenth for diverse myles, till they were conveened and gathered to the number of above 400 persons, many of them being armed with swordes, forkes, pickes, half pickes, and such lyk weapones; and at a passe near the end of the mosse, diverse of the countrey people, amongst whom the Lord Cardroses servantes forsaides, and particularly Alexander Ure, webster in Cardrose, a taall reid haired man, who had a corn fork with ane aiken shaft; Harry Dow of wester Polder, who had a sword, and diverse utheris, who were best armed assaulted the Party, who being putt to the defence of their lyves, and in the conflict receaved many stroakes. The multitud of the people in the mean tyme rescued and did take away the said Mr. John King, prisoner, and the said party did with great difficulty escape with their lyves, being overpowered with the number and multitude of the people, and the said Alexander Ure, webster, and utheris of the Lord Cardroses servantes, not being satisfied with the deforcement of the party, and rescuing of the said Mr. John King, they did follow the said party to

Burnbank, being within ffour myles of Stirling, and they haveing darned themselves upon the waysyd in a wood and moss, about the number of tuentie came out of the said wood to ingage the party, bot they finding that the party of horse and foot had joyned together and were in posture of defence, they did reteir and persew no further: at the committing of quhich deforcement and ryot the persons abovewrytten were present and are guilty airt and part thereof. Of which cryme in rescueing the said Mr. John King, the said Lord Cardrose and his lady and sister are guilty airt and part; at the least the same is done and committed by the fornamed persons, their order, assistance, and ratihibition, In so farr as the said Mr. John King, being the Lord Cardroses chaplain and servant, and ane habitual keeper of conventicles, both in the house of Cardrose and in other places within the Lord Cardrosses landes, barony and elsquhair, and the house of Cardrose being a place of ordinar rendevois, where upon the Sabbath day and uther dayes his tenentis and utheris were in use to resort to hear the said Mr. John pray, preach, and exercise, for quhich there is a proces depending against the Lord Cardrose and his lady yet undiscust, and they haveing admitted the said Mr. John King to be within the house of Cardrose constantly, at least frequently, and in uther houses within his boundes, and haveing intartained him with meat, drink, and uther necessaris within his house, at leist upon his boundes, and by furnishing and sending him from his table, and the said deforcement being committed in so publick a maner in the day tyme, betuixt eleven in the fornoon and two in the afternoon, so near the Lord Cardros his house, when the Lord and Lady were at hame, and their tenents and servantes haveing bein active in the same, and in raising of the countrey to that effect, and in speciall the Lord and Lady Cardroses domestick servantes forsaides, the nurse and the gentlewomen and utheris haveing gone out of purpose from the house of Cardrose, hearing that the said Mr. John King wes seized upon, and the house where he wes taken being upon the Lord Cardroses boundes and at his gate, and the servantes forsaidis being of that quality, and their attendance about the ladyes owne person and their children, and within the house, being so necessary that they could not be missed, and it cannot be thought they would have gone out to have rescued the said Mr. John King if they had not bein hounded out or allowed in maner forsaid, specially seing they have stayed or bein keiped

in the house of Cardrose as formerly, without any question or challeng by the Lord Cardrose or his lady, farr lesse of giveing information to any in authority of their guilt and accession to so high a cryme. And notwithstanding his Majestie and his councill did take notice of the said Mr. John King as a factious, seditious, and disorderly person, so farr as to secure him, and search being made for the said Mr. John by order of his Majestie's authority, being for the tyme chaplain to the Lord Cardrose in June or July 1674, the said Lord Cardros wes sa farr from exhibiting him that thereafter, videlicet, the      day of July last, He did petition and complain to the Councill that his house had bein searcht, and did owne the said Mr. John King to be his chaplain, and did in his petition aggrev at and complain of the searching of the said Mr. John, as a great breach of the propperty and liberty of the subject; and farder, notwithstanding of the said search and indevouris to have taken the said Mr. John, the said Cardros and his lady did still resett him in their family as their servant and chaplain vntill the      day of August therafter, or therabout, and after the said Mr. John did pretend to be in his house, yea after the said Lord Cardrose wes desyred by the Councill to exhibit him, and did pretend it wes not in his power, he then not being his servant, the said Mr. John wes still, at the leist frequently, to the Lord Cardros his knowledge and by his connivance come to the house of Cardrose, and to his landes and barrony, and wes intartained in his house and at his table, at least he had meat sent to him from his house and table as aforsaid, and the last tyme he wes taken befor he escaped he wes taken in a house at the boat of Cardrose, where he wes to the knowledge of the said Lord, his lady and sister; and farder, the said Lord Cardrose is not only guilty of the crymes particularly abovewrytten, bot he hath taken upon him at diverse tymes, and particularly since the moneth of July 1674, to induce and perswad orderly and weill affected ministers admitted by his Majesties authority to desert their charges and to desist from preaching by authority of and under the bishopes, and in particular Mr. Robert Young, minister at Kippen, and Mr. James Donaldson, minister at Port, wherby the said Lord Cardrose and his lady, his sister, his servantes, tenents, and uther forsaidis, are guilty of keiping of Conventicles in maner forsaid, and the same being verified and proven, the said Lord Cardrose ought not only be lyeable and fyned for such Conventicles as he or his lady have bein present at, bot ought and should be answerable for his

saidis tenentis and servantes, and be declared lyable in the paynes and penalties incurred by them therthrow, in regaund the said Lord Cardros hath wilfully neglected to take band against keeping of Conventicles in maner prescrybed by the foresaid proclamation; and farder, the Lord Cardrose and remanent persons forsaids are guilty of the crymes of ryot, deforcement, and uthers particularly abovementioned, committed by them in hie and proud contempt, etc., ffor quich they ought to be exemplarily punished. And anent the charg given to the fornamit persons to have compeared personally and answered to the foresaid complaint under the Payne of rebellion, etc., as the saids letteris, executions, and indorsations at lenth propertes, Whilk being called and both parties compearand personally, The Lords of his Majesties Privy Councill haveing heard and considered the foresaid complaint and ansueris made therto, with the depositions of severall witnesses adduced for proving therof, doe find it sufficiently proven that since the 24 of March 1674 the Lady Cardrose wes present at a Conventicle keeped in the house of Cardrose, and that the Lord Cardrose wes within the house for the tyme, and since that tyme that the Lady Cardrose wes present at a feild Conventicle keeped at James Ure's house, and findes it proven that after Mr. John King wes denunced rebell, and that the Lord Cardros wes requyred by the Councill to produce him, conform to his Majesties letter, that the said Mr. John was resett by the Lord Cardros, and remained in his house of Cardros for severall monethes, and wes intrusted with the keyes of the house, and did in that space keep Conventicles in his house, and both house and feild conventicles in diverse places therabout. And findes it proven that John Keiry and John Wright, millers under the Lord Cardrose, Robert Dunnven in Carden, and his two brethren, tenentis to the said Lord, and severall of his domestick servantes, were accessory to the deforcing of the party employed to apprehend the said Mr. John and rescueing him, in respect whereof and that the Lord Cardros refused to depone upon that article of the lybell referred to his oath anent the inducing and perswading of orthodox ministers to desert their charges, The saids Lordis doe ordaine the Lord Cardrose immediatly to enter himself prisoner in the Castle of Edinburgh, and to continow therein during his Majesties pleasur. And fynes him in the soume of one thousand poundis sterlind, to be payed to his Majesties cashkeiper for his Majesties use: And ordaines him to cause the said John Keiry, Robert

Wright, Robert Dunnven, and his two brethreen, enter themselves prisoners in the tolbuith of Stirling, betuixt and this day fyftein dayes, as he will be answerable on his hiest perrill, to remain therin untill further order. And ordaines him to produce before the Councill his cook, and William Ure, his under stewart, and any uther his domestick servantes cited to bear witnes in this proces, betuixt and the first Councill day in September nixt : And findes that the persones afternamed, tenents of the Lord Cardrose, were present at ten house conventicles, viz. :—John Ure, Hary Milne, Robert Ure in Ballingrew, James M'Fet, and John Harvy, his wyfe and daughters, and findes that Robert Ure, in loaning of Cardros, and Alexander Ure, webster, tuo of his tenents, were present at tuo severall house conventicles, and therfore, conform to the act of Parliament, fynes the said John Ure, Hary Milne, Robert Ure in Balnagrew, James M'Feat, and John Harvy, each of them in the soume of tuo hundredth and fiftie lib. Scottes, and the said Robert Ure in loaning of Cardrose, and Alexander Ure, each of them in ffiftie <sup>lib</sup> scottes, and ffynes the Lord Cardrose in the soume of one thowsand thrie hundredth and fiftie <sup>lib</sup> Scottes, wherunto the fynes of the saides persons extends, in respect he did not cause the saidis tenentis give bond not to keep conventicles, conform to the Act of Councill : Reserving to him his releiff against the saidis persons, as accordes and ordaines letteris of horning to be direct against the forsaidis persons for payment of the respective fynes abovewritten.'—(*Minutes of Privy Council.*)

## 2. MEMORANDA OF HENRY THIRD LORD CARDROSS.

This nobleman was remarkable for his worth, and his sufferings.

Towards the end of May 1675, when he was in Edinburgh, a party of the guards, under Sir Mungo Murray, came to the house of Cardross, under night, demanding admission, but producing no order. They were admitted ; when they obliged Lady Cardross, then with child, to get out of bed, that they might search her chamber, and broke up chests, and my Lord's closet off the dining room, where his papers lay loose. They seized Mr. John King, a preacher, then in the house, whom the Privy Council had formerly seized, but, on his finding bail, liberated. They also apprehended Mr. Robert Langlands, there as preceptor to the Honourable John Erskine, half brother of Lord Cardross, and afterwards well known as Colonel Erskine of Carnock.

Lord Cardross presented a petition to the Privy Council, complaining, and craving redress. Wodrow gives it at full length, vol. i. pp. 394-396. Meanwhile King was rescued by some country people, some miles from Cardross, and the council, disregarding the petition, named a Committee to frame a Counter libel against Lord Cardross, and, on the 5th of August, found him art and part in the rescue, on the ground that some of his servants were there. They likewise found that his Lady had attended many conventicles, and that Lord Cardross had harboured Mr. John King, a rebel (as they termed him) and for these reasons they 'order the Lord Cardross to enter the Castle of Edinburgh, and to be confined during his Majesty's pleasure, and fine him in a thousand pounds Sterling, and over and above fine him in one thousand three hundred and fifty pounds Scots per piece. His tenants were found liable to, they being absent and libelled for being at Conventicles, and that, in respect my Lord did not cause his said tenants to give bond not to keep conventicles in terms of the last act of Council thereanent, referring him for relief to his tenants.' The Council appointed a garrison in the house of Cardross, which had been spoiled by a ten years garrison under Cromwell, and was newly repaired in a way unfit for soldiers. Wodrow, vol. i. Appendix, p. 169. State. of Lord Cardross's process, which Wodrow had procured from his Lordship's son, the Earl of Buchan.

On the 24th of February 1676, Charles II., under whose reign the above transactions had taken place, wrote to the Council a letter of which the following is an extract.

'Right trusty and well beloved Cousins and Counsellors, etc., We greet you well. Having seen and considered the three enclosed petitions from Henry Lord Cardross, Sir Patrick Home of Polwart, and Lieutenant-General William Drummond, we have thought fit to signify to you our Royal Pleasure, and we do hereby expressly require you to exact and cause full payment to be made of the fine imposed by you on the Lord Cardross, and to take surety from him that neither he nor his family will be guilty of such offences as these for which he was by you fined and committed: After which (and no sooner) you are hereby authorized to set him at liberty. . . . For doing all which, this shall be your warrant, and so we bid you heartily farewell. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 24th day of February, 167 $\frac{5}{8}$ , and of our Reign the 28th year. By his Majesty's command. (Signed) Lawderdale.'

What had become of this letter in the first instance does not

appear. Nearly a year after, Lord Cardross is allowed to go out of prison, for ten days, on account of his Lady's illness; and, upon the 1st of March 1677, to go about his affairs, upon granting a bond for a hundred pounds Sterling to be exacted for every offence, for himself and Lady, in the terms the Council had appointed formerly. This is rigorously exacted, August 7th; and he and Lady fined in half their yearly valued rent, on the pretext that they had had two children baptized by the ousted ministers. Lord Cardross states in his defence that he was then in prison. The severity commanded by his Majesty had been scrupulously executed.

Letters of intercommuning, as they were termed, dated 6th August 1675, soon after the rescue of King from the soldiers who had seized him, had been issued against 'James Somervel at the boat of Cardross, Henry Dow of Wester Polder, and Mr. John King chaplain to the Lord Cardross, for being present at house and field conventicles and withdrawing themselves from the public ordinances in their own parish churches, for having had their children baptized at these disorderly meetings, or for having invited ousted ministers to intrude and invade pulpits, and having convocat people to hear therein, or having heard them themselves; at the least for harbouring, resetting, supplying or corresponding with Mr. John Welsh, and other declared rebels and traitors, contrary to the laws and acts of parliament made thereagainst.' Of these and others (among whom are "Lady Colvil, Lady Balcanquel, Sir John Kirkaldie of Grange, Colonel Robert Walket, Colvil, Lady Baily, Lady Collerny, Lady Pittendriech in Logie parish, Dame Anna Riddel, Lady Collerny, Ladies Unthanks elder and younger, Dame Margaret Farquhar, Lady Walhill") it is affirmed, that 'they are encouraged to continue in there rebellion by the reset, supply and intercoming which they have with several of their friends and acquaintances, to the high contempt of us our authority and Laws. Our will is herefore, and we charge you straitly and command, that incontinent their our letters seen, ye pass to the market Crosses in Edinburgh and all other places needful, and there at in our name and authority, command and charge all and sundry our lieges and subjects that they nor none of them presume nor take upon hand to reset supply or intercommune with any of the foresaid persons or rebels for the causes foresaid, nor furnish them with meat, drink, hous, harboar, victual, nor no other thing useful or comfortable to them, nor have intelligence with them by word, ink, or message or other manner of way, under the pain to be repute and esteemed

art and part with them in the crimes foresaid, and punished there fore with all vigour to the terror of others ; requiring hereby all sheriffs, stewards, bailies of regalities and baileies to apprehend and commit to prison any of the persons above written, our rebels. . . . Given under our Signet at Edinburgh the sixth of August, One thousand six hundred seventy and five years, and of our reign the twenty seventh year.'

It may be noticed that Lieutenant-General Drummond, mentioned in the king's letter formerly quoted, was the illustrious Warrior and Statesman who had been Major-General of all the forces in Scotland from 1666 till lately, when he lay eighteen months in Dumbarton Castle. The year before Charles i.'s death, to wit in 1684, that monarch had restored him to favour, and made him General of the Ordnance. By James ii. he was appointed General of all the forces in Scotland, and a Lord of the Treasury, and, on the 16th of August 1686, he was created Viscount of Strathallan, Lord Drummond of Cromlix. He wrote a History of the Family of Drummond. It exists in manuscript, and is much esteemed. The eldest brother, David 3d Lord Madderty, was the founder of the public library of Inverpaffray. To the personal attention of the first Viscount Strathallan the Library-House of Dunblane is much indebted. Besides arranging its furniture, which has lasted till now, his Lordship caused his tenants and servants to perform the carriage of the materials. There is in the archives of the Leightonian library, an autograph 'Register of the Biblioheck,' as it is titled, by the last Bishop of Dunblane, Douglas, great-grandfather of Lord Glenbervie. The Bishop had, it would appear, endeavoured thus to amuse himself after the Revolution ; for the curious paper is dated 'att Dunblane the first day of July one thousand six hundred fourscore eleven years.' Of the 'Register of the Biblioheck' the following is an extract : 'Amongst many other good providences which concurred to the furtherance of this good work, a verie speciaill one was, the great and opportune assistance afforded by William Late Lord Viscount Strathalan then Lieutenant Generall and Commander in Chief of all his Majestie's forces in the Kingdome of Scotland. This noble Lord, as out of a generous propensity to advance all good works, so also haveing a peculiar and profound respect and veneratione to that Most Excellent Bishop his dear freind and intimatt Did concerne himself most seriouslie and effectually to bring the work to its full perfectione. The fabrick of the house, its furniture

and evrey thing as it stands now in verie good order, was by his contryvance. And albeit he was much taken up with his publick Imployments both military and Consiliary, yet wuold he take some starts to come to his ounе lodgings att Dunblane, that he might notice how that work went on, Giveing orders from his ounе mouth to the workmen that everie thing might be done aright. And not only so, but moreover gave command that not only his tenents and their horses, But also his servants and horses should be readie upon a call for carriages of stone and timber, sclait and lyme to the house, all which he caused to be done gratis ; by which a very considderable expense was saved.'—(*Paper in Cardross Charter-chest.*)

## APPENDIX II.

(*The following papers came to hand after the Journal was printed off.*)

1. The author of the *Journal* received from his elder brother William a letter dated, Torry, 27th Nov. 1682, and addressed 'For Mr. John Erskine, at Edr.' It is on some business of passing interest in reference to tacks on the Cardross Estate : refers to their brothers Charles, and Lord Cardross, and concludes 'your affectionate and loving brother, Will. Erskine.' There is also this postscript, 'I intend to morrow to wait on my Lord Mar at Captain Erskine's buriall.' This letter is here mentioned merely because of what our author has written on the blank pages of it. The notes are somewhat disjointed, but they help to indicate somewhat of the writer's habit of self-judging :—

I have been severall tymes attempting to set doun in write every step of the exercise of my mind in and about religione, and have had not a few challenges for not performing it : but ordinarily I was no sooner goeing about that worke than what I was to write slipt out of my mind, and presently some what else came in its roume, as guilt, conviction, fear, hope, and one thing after another till I doubted of all even if ever I had a right thought of, or desire after Christ, and was rather made to believe that all I had was a vaine and hypocriticall trusting in self-righteousness. Amonge other troubles I had, this was one, that I being in companie or walking, or otherways, so as I had not the conveniency of being privat for prayer, I seemed then to be earnest in spirit after that dutie and God in it, and to be of a broken and contrie spirit : but

quhen I had the opportunity and offered to pray, I could say but little, and that to as little purpose, quhich seemed to be my quenching of the Spirit, and not keeping faith in exercise, by letting loose my thoughts and mind to idle vanities ; yea, this is a hellish trick and deceit of Satan's to lett people have now and then a seeming joy of hearing the word and love to Christ, and takes the rest of that time for his owne worke : yea, people may come a greater length, even to teaste of the heavenly gift, Heb. 6. 4, 5, and if they fall away its impossible for them to recover. ver. 6. O but he that stands hes need to take heed lest he fall. This scripture Heb. 6. 6, hes much troubled me, fearing lest it be made out in me.

Quhen I came to Edinburgh in October 1683, and discovered to some my intentione in goeing to a wrytter's chamber that sessione, and designe in doing so,<sup>1</sup> they not only applauded my resolution, but wer pleased to put ane undeserved esteim on me to my face. This did scar me and make me looke back on my past ways, and search what ground they had to have such thoughts of me. And at last I found that they looked to my not keeping companie with the known and groslie profane. They had no ground to think so of me, because I might be in a great paire restrained from that (even contrair to my oun inclinatione and natur) by being seldom out of my mother's companie, whose greif it would have been to see her children goe that way : and also, by the good educatione and example I had from LMR.<sup>2</sup> and others my masters. Yea, education will reforme very far quher ther is no grace ; yea, a principle of moralitie itself will keep us from useing lewd and profain companie, because of its destruction to man's health and bodie.

30 March '84. How that remembering former providences and mercies did much incline and warme to affection after God, and to have his presence in goeing about dewtie : How David after recollecting him self in the beginning of severall psalms, falls on soul exercise.

I found quhen reading a book leatly a great dislyk even quhen the subject was best, quhich proceeded only from a dislyke to the author for his compliance with the government and reflecting on others and presbyterian Government.

<sup>1</sup> See the *Journal*, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> A monogram : the middle letter may be intended for M or W or H.

My desire to goe about deuty quhen I was not in a frame as at other tymes made me believe that all I did was but of formality.

I did refrain from much speaking in companie lest quhen intangled in a discourse I should whiles lye, dissemble, or reflect on others, or put out myself for want of expression to perfect what I had begune.

2. FRAGMENT OF JOURNAL referred to on Page xxiv  
of INTRODUCTION.

1701. November 5. I ended at this 5 of November in a book of this sort. I was now with my wife and family in Dumbarton Castle. This day I spoke to Mr. John Anderson of Drummond moderator of the presbytery of Dumbarton, for ane extract of the process before the presbytery against Ensigne Cathcart; and in the afternoon Mr. Jo. Richie in Kilpatrick, and Mr. Wallace in Cardross,<sup>1</sup> brought me ane extract of the process. They desired I might deall with him to obey the sentence of the presbytery. I told them, it might have been easier for me to make him give satisfaction if the provest of Dumbarton had acquainted me before he brought it to the presbytery, or if the presbytery, before they proceeded to sentence, had acquainted me, but that I should yet speake to him.

(6), (7), (8) I stayed at home, but that I went over with my father-in-law,<sup>2</sup> George Maxwell, and others, to the old Kirk of Cardross, wher they say the bowells of K. Rt. the Bruce wer buried, he having dyed leaprous about a myle from this place. After that I went to Dumbarton and saw Williamson of Chapellton and his Lady.

(9) I heard Mr. John Anderson<sup>3</sup> in Dumbarton.

(10) I thought to have taken journey to Edinburgh, but a quorum of the commissioners for securing the peace of the highlands<sup>4</sup> being to meet at Dumbarton, for qualifying for receiving and qualifying those in this countrey who were not yet receaved.

<sup>1</sup> The parish of that name in Dumbartonshire. <sup>2</sup> Mr. Dundas of Kincavill.

<sup>3</sup> The minister of Dumbarton, author of *A Dialogue between a Curate and a Countryman*, published 1710, and a second *Dialogue* in 1711, and other racy pamphlets. His most important publication is the *Defence of Presbyterian Church Government*, 1714.

<sup>4</sup> This commission is dated 30th May 1701, and contains the name of Lieutenant-Colonel John Erskine of Carriden, as well as that of our author. This other may be the same who was known as the *white* Colonel, who for some time resided at Culross.

(11) Efter dinner I went to Dumbarton, hearing ther wer some commissioners ther. Ther meet of us only Glenagles, Luss,<sup>1</sup> young Ridoch, and my selfe, which still wanted one of a quorum. Ther came to be qualified Ardkinglas,<sup>2</sup> Sir Ja. Campbell of Achinbreck, Carrick,<sup>3</sup> younger and elder, Ardincaple,<sup>4</sup> and Campbell of Ardintenny. Since ther was not a quorum, they desyred, because they had come far, that we four commissioners would be present at their swearing the Alleadgance, etc. before a magistrat, which we did,<sup>5</sup> and attested the same to be layed before the privie counsell, and it was past midnight before we pairted ; Glenagles took horse presently to Halden Mill.

(12) This day I took journey from Dumbarton to Edr. with ——Whythill of Capoch in the Isle above Leven ; we meet Ardincaple and Ardintenny on the road to Glasgow, wher we lodged all night. The end of last week I dreamed that the Countess of Kincardin<sup>6</sup> was dead, and that those concerned about her wer doeing all they could to keep her death concealled.

(13) This morning Capnoch and I took journey to Edr. We lodged all night at Stirling, M'Gibbons my servant in Carriden.

(14) This morning we went to Carridden house and see Major Generall Ramsay, who lived ther with his family, and eftir that [we] came to Edr. about two afternoon.

(15) I found the countess of Kincardin had, before my comming to town, been applying to the lords against me, beginning where she left last session. I consulted with Mr. Fr. Grant, Mr. Ja. Gellie, and others anent my affairs with her.

(16) I heard sermon in the Tron Church.

(17) From this to the end of this month I had nothing to trouble me at the Session, the countess proceeding but slowly in her bussiness. It was uneasie to me to get people I owed money to satisfyed, tho' I did not find the difficulties so great in satisfying some persons as I apprehended.

<sup>1</sup> Haldane of Gleneagles, and Sir Humphrey Colquhoun of Luss.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Colin Campbell of that place.

<sup>3</sup> Sir John Campbell of Carrick.

<sup>4</sup> Archibald MacAulay of Ardincaple.

<sup>5</sup> This seems rather inconsistent with the tradition that Colonel Erskine himself did not take the oaths.

<sup>6</sup> This lady was Veronica van Arsen van Sommels dyck, of Holland, married in 1659, to Alexander, 2d Earl of Kincardin, whose sister was the mother of Colonel Erskine. The Countess and the Colonel were now at law in regard to the estates which the latter had purchased. She died in the following April.

(28) Last night I dreamed that being in company with several other persons concerned in the pole 1693<sup>1</sup> we wer hard put to it upon account of our concerne in that pole, and threatened with imprisonment. I think the cheif reason why I and others that are owing money upon that account are not more severly craved, is because my Lo. Whytlaw who is one of the commission of parliament anent that pole, has not been out of his chamber this session, having the goutt, and he is ordinarily preses and chief actor in these affairs.

(30) Being sabbath I suppt alone in my chambers, and had freedom in giving thanks after supper, and, weeping, did particularly supplicate God for the influence and assistance of his Spirit in protecting and guiding me in all concernes, and winn out more fully over publick and privat affairs, getting of justice, etc., than I can now mynd, tho' it be but about ane hour ago. I had been reading and praying severall tymes before supper, but did not attain to that freedom and accessse to God in prayer which I longed for, and did then pray for again and again. O but it be happie for Christians when they are helped to waite God's tyme for hearing and giving returnes to their prayers, and that by continuing their prayers for things agreeable to his will, which cannot cease to be their duty, tho' the Lord should, for his holy and wise ends, which we cannot see for the tyme, hyde his face and delay the returne of our prayers for a long tyme.

#### DECEMBER 1701 MONDAY FIRST

(7) I heard Mr. Crichton and Mr. Geo. Meldrum in the Tron church this evening. I severall tymes expressed my desyre in prayer that if God should give me freedom and ease from my present troubles and difficulties (which wer cheifly occasioned by the Countes of Kincardin her pleas and rigidity in the manner of her seeking payment of her joynture of near 1000 lib sterlinc of annuity yearly out of the estatae of Kincardine, which I had bought, and by the malice of her sons in law<sup>2</sup> and others concerned in them.) I desyred I might be helped never to be unmyndfull of his mercys

<sup>1</sup> An obnoxious poll-tax was imposed in that year, which, along with a duty on malt liquor, was to provide the expense of a new levy of troops. The poll affected all persons over the age of sixteen.

<sup>2</sup> Lady Anne Bruce, her daughter, was married in 1684 to Sir David Murray of Stanhope, and Lady Mary to William Cochrane of Ochiltree.

but to improve his goodness by seeking him aright in every station as I was inabed.

(8) Saturday last, being the first saturday of the quarter, was keept (by the society for christian fellowship and Reformation of mainners, wherof I was a member) for prayer as usewall. We met at three efternoon and continued about 4 or 5 hours, in the house of Mr. James Gellie, advocat. Ther was present my Lord Crosrigg one of the Lords of session, Mr. Will. Brodie one of the commissarys of Edinburgh, and advocat, Sir Walter Pringle, Advocat, Mr. Ja. Stewart Advocat, and town clerk of Edinburgh, Mr. Francis Grant Advocat, Pringle of Bucum, Mr. R. Alexander, one of the clerks of Session, Nicoll Spence, under clerk to the general Assembly, Hew Cunningham one of the baillies of Edinburgh. We prayed each of us once, and spoke but little of our ordinary bussiness. I found my heart in a good disposition for prayer whyle others were praying, and had satisfaction and delight in meeting this way, especially for prayer, provyding all the company wer such with whom I could use intire freedom in that duty, which is rare to be had in so great a company. I had satisfaction in the prayers of most.

(16) Nothing materiall hes occurred here, haveing but little or no bussiness come any lenth before this session. This morning my lord Kincardin<sup>1</sup> sent a servant to me desyring I might send him 10 lib sterlinc upon the countess his mother's account. I said I should indeavour to see my Lord this day or the morrow, not having money then by me.

(17) My Lo. Kincardin sent this morning again for the money, and desyred to have it before he went abroad in the forenoon. I was straitned what to doe, being willing to give him much more money tho it wer not allowed by my Lady; but considering that my Lo. was now turned from his extreame—his former extreame of a retired devote life, and of shutting himselfe up from company,—to a contrary extreame of goeing too much abroad, and staying out some tymes till midnight, with none of the best company, and frequently paying for some that keep him company, which occasioned his borrowing at severall hands, I knew if I should give him money at such a tyme, his mother might have just ground of clamour if I did it without her knowledge. I was pusseled what to doe and how to acquaint his mother or sister Lady Betty,<sup>2</sup> being to see him

<sup>1</sup> Only son of the countess above mentioned, and cousin to the Colonel.

<sup>2</sup> Lady Elizabeth Bruce was married in 1704 to James Boswell of Auchinleck, grandfather of the biographer of Dr. Johnson.

in about ane hour. When I am thinking what to doe, Marg. Ker, lady Betty's woman, calls for me upon some other bussiness anent Mr. Mair. I brought her in, baillie Williamson being with me, and told her of my Lord's message. She said it was not fitt and would be ill taken if I gave him money. I desyred her to goe tell La. B. that I was goeing to my Lo. with the money, and that she might meet me at the closs head, and tell la. B. I designed to see the countess first. I went to their lodging and went first to La. B.'s room, who desyred my promise not to give her brother money, it being the way to ruine him, and my lady being told said she would not allowe it, and would exclaim against me if I did it. I told my Lo. this and he went in to his mother, but could not prevaill, but desyred I might give him the money upon his man's receipt, or he would get me Sr. David Murray's. I told I had a scruple of giving him much more<sup>1</sup> money upon his own account, but if I should doe it when my Lady was so positive against it, without speaking to her, she would have cause to complain.

I desyred La. B. to tell my Lady I would speake to her about this and other bussiness. La. B. came back and told me my Lady would not speak with me upon any account. This was the first tyme she declyned converse. When I was in La. B.'s chamber my Lo. was called out, so I saw him not. My La. was lyke to be very angry against La. B. for offering to vindicat me, La. B. alleadging it would not have been just to take the estaite from her father's creditors upon her brother entering heir to his uncle E. Ed.<sup>1</sup> The countess said, 'What? I think you are weyld in these maitters as well as in your religion.' This because La. B. was religious and strict in observing the ordinances, and had a particular respect for Mr. Geo. Mair in Culross.<sup>2</sup> I'm persuaded it will doe me no prejudice that the countess hes first declyned converse upon her syde.

(18) Beginning of the last week I was at night in company with Geo. Cruickshanks, merchant in Aberdeen, Jo. Sprewell, merchant in Glasgow, and James Nimmo, merchant in Edinburgh. We sat a considerable tyme and drank about — mutchkens of

<sup>1</sup> Earl Edward. Alexander, third Earl of Kincardin, succeeded his father in 1680, and was served heir to his uncle Edward, the first earl, on 1st February 1683.

<sup>2</sup> He was minister of the parish, and greatly esteemed by his contemporaries for his learning and piety.

sack : and then I was with Gladney<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Geo. Campbell, and drank some with them, which ordinarily was to my prejudice when I exceeded a mutchken, especially when I drank without eating, it goes to my head : haveing bussiness in severall companies it was laite before I gott home, being the 9th inst.<sup>2</sup>

3. The following paper is curious as an instance of a burgess ticket being conferred upon a lady : there is no date, but it must have been before her marriage in 1721 :—

‘We Justices and Balifs of the School of Culross, do assign and ordain a burges ticket to be given to Mrs. Mary Erskine (daughter to colonell John Erskine of Carnock) to which we assign our names, John Blaw, Justice, David Erskine, David Hunter, Thomas Mair, Balifs, Patrick Erskine, clark, James Nesmith, Thesaurer.

4. ACCOMPT—THE FUNERALS OF COLLONELL ERSKINE TO THOMAS TROTTER

1743

|           |  |    |    |    |
|-----------|--|----|----|----|
| Janry. 14 | To 4 bottles Claret . . . . .                                  | £0 | 8  | 0  |
|           | To 2 bottles Lesbon 2 bottles brandy<br>at 18 . . . . .        | 0  | 6  | 0  |
|           | To 1 lb almond, 1 lb common bisket, . . .                      | 0  | 2  | 6  |
|           | To 4 lb 1 oz. Seed and Plumb Cake at 16 .                      | 0  | 5  | 5  |
| 15        | To 2 bottles Lesbon Do. brandy at 18 .                         | 0  | 6  | 0  |
|           | To 4 bottles Claret . . . . .                                  | 0  | 8  | 0  |
| 17        | To 6 bottles Claret . . . . .                                  | 0  | 12 | 0  |
|           | To 3 bottles Lesbon . . . . .                                  | 0  | 4  | 6  |
|           | To 2 bottles madiera 5s. 2 bottles Frunti-<br>nack 4s. . . . . | 0  | 9  | 0  |
|           | To 10 lb wax Lights 3/- . . . . .                              | 1  | 10 | 0  |
|           | To 12 lb Seed and Plumb Cake . . . . .                         | 0  | 16 | 0  |
|           | To 3 lb finest bisket 3/- . . . . .                            | 0  | 9  | 0  |
|           | To 1 lb Spunge etc. 2/- 1½ lb almond .                         |    |    |    |
|           | Do. 2/6 . . . . .  | 0  | 4  | 6  |
|           | Cash pd. out for   | £6 | 0  | 11 |

<sup>1</sup> Robertson of that place, in the parish of Cupar, Fifeshire.

<sup>2</sup> These portions of the *Journal* are written on three leaves cut out of a pocket note-book of the same form and size as those containing the earlier *Journal*.

|  |    |    |    |
|--|----|----|----|
| To a loan of Carpets . . . . .                                 | £0 | 2  | 6  |
| To 4 Standges . . . . .  | 0  | 2  | 0  |
| To Short Bread 3/8 Loaf Do. 8d. and<br>ale 2/3 . . . . .       | 0  | 6  | 7  |
| To Tallow Candles . . . . .                                    | 0  | 2  | 3½ |
| To 1 bottle Claret Do. Sherry got by<br>Mrs. Londrew . . . . . | 0  | 3  | 6  |
|  | £6 | 17 | 9½ |
| To my own attendance . . . . .                                 | 1  | 1  | 0  |
|  | £7 | 18 | 9  |

Edenburgh 11th February 1743, then received from Mr. John Erskine of Carnock, full of the above and discharges the same and all proceedings by me.

THO. TROTTER

ACCOMPT OF COLLENELE JOHN AIRESKINGS FUNERALE CHARGES IN  
THE OLD GRAYFRIERS KIRK, DEPURST BY JAMES HUNTER,  
WRIGHT.<sup>1</sup>

1743

Janry. 15

|  |    |   |   |
|--|----|---|---|
| Impr. To Searching the Records in the town<br>Clarks Chamber for ane Acte of<br>Council for bureing in the Kirk but<br>found non . . . . . | £0 | 2 | 6 |
| To the Kirk Treassurer for the warrand<br>for breaking of ground within the<br>Kirk . . . . .  | 8  | 6 | 8 |
| To the Best Mortecloath with Loups and<br>Ribbons . . . . .  | 1  | 1 | 0 |
| To the Recorder . . . . .  | 0  | 5 | 0 |
| To the grave men for lifting the pave-<br>ment, making the grave and laying<br>Do. pavement . . . . .                                      | 1  | 2 | 6 |
| To the Bellmen . . . . .   | 0  | 5 | 0 |

<sup>1</sup> The Register of the Greyfriars' Church-yard thus records the same event :  
‘Burial of Colonel John Erskine of Carnock, 1743 January 17th close to the foot  
of Mr Nisbet's Ground within the O. Kirk. 5.’

|  |     |    |   |
|--|-----|----|---|
| To three Usshers . . . . .   | £0  | 15 | 0 |
| To six Batton men . . . . .  | 0   | 6  | 0 |
| To Eight men for carrying the corps . . .  | 0   | 12 | 0 |
| To Six Souldiers for keeping off the poor at the house and Kirk . . . .  | 0   | 6  | 0 |
| To the poor at the Lodging . . . .   | 0   | 5  | 0 |
| To the poors box at the stepheads . . .  | 0   | 2  | 6 |
| To the common poor and blew gowns at the Kirkyard . . . . .  | 0   | 2  | 6 |
| To the Kirk Beddels in the old Grayfriers . . . . .  | 0   | 5  | 0 |
| To the Morte coffen with belt and brass mounted with fyne murning handls and black rops with silk taissles and impolstering it with black cloath, and fynlie laced, with jepaand nails, with black silk fringes on the top of the Coumbs and round the out edge of the Coumbs and beass, and waxed green within, . . . . | 10  | 10 | 0 |
|  | £24 | 6  | 8 |

Edinburgh February 5th 1743, Received payment of the above accompt and discharges the samen by me

JAMES HUNTER

£13 16 8

And a crown to the lads.

### APPENDIX III.

#### PAPERS RELATING TO THE DARIEN COLONY.

1. LETTER FROM MR. ALEXANDER SHIELDS, one of the ministers with the expedition, to Colonel Erskine. He was the author of *A Hind let Loose*, and other works.

*From on board the 'Rising Sun' in Caledonia Bay, Feb. 2, 1700.*

MUCH HOND. SIR,—This occasion is very inviting to salute your hon. with a Line. Yet when so many are writing, and so many going home who can inform you of our Affairs more particu-

larly, it may seem superfluous, if not officious for me to offer any Account of things. But since you was pleased to desire my promises to do it, I am both obliged and encouraged to unbosome myself in some particulars, which perhaps others will not think fitt to write. I am apt to think you may be as much troubled with discouraging reports and Accounts of this Settlement at this time, as before you were abused with those that represented it far besides and beyond the truth: And that the present representations undervaluing it, may be as fallacious as the former that overvalued it. People do not only speak and write, but oftentimes may think, not according to the Truth of things, but as they are influenced with affection or predjudice, pleasure or discontent, hopes or fears, humor and interest. Our Countrymen that settled here first, and afterwards deserted it, amused us with very fine stories of abundance of Gold mines, Nicaragua, and other precious woods etc., and that, if they had men enough to subdue the Spaniards, or oblige them to be quiet, in a little time the place would provide for itself, and prove the most considerable settlement in the West Indies. Their affection to the place, and delight in it for the time of their plenty, their hopes of success and Interest, influenced and obliged them to write so, and I do not doubt but many of them thought so, when they observed, as we also do, a great deal of glistering dust in the little brooks and other places, and much red wood, and Timber of all colours, and that the ground was so extreme fat and fertile, yeelding admirable Encrease, which might give ground for great hopes, and no fears, but for the Spaniards, which are very bad neighbours, and represented by the Indians as very terrible. But now our too big Expectations, forming too large Ideas of things at a distance, being so confoundedly disappointed by the Desertion of the Colony; and this disappointment filling the greater part of us with so much prejudice, discontent, and fears, and very ill humor; I suspect this will picque and prompt them to trouble you with quite contrary Accounts; that here is no gold at all, but on the Indians lips, which they buy from the Spaniards, because they can find no such mines, and the pieces of glistering Minerals which some light upon, are declared by our refiner to be neither Gold nor Silver (nor does he know what they are, which some think is no great proof of his skill) and that here is no Nicaragua wood, for there is little of the wood that grows here known by any body among us; That here is no fear of Spaniards, for that they never hitherto offered to make an Attack

upon this Settlement, and cannot march through the woods, they are so thick, and so full of thickets and mangroves: and that the only fear is want of provisions, which will oblige us to desert very quickly this wilderness, where nothing is to be got. This is the language of many here, and I question not but it is their thought too. But setting aside these contrary prejudices and passions, I humbly conceive, Reason and Common sense will judge; there will not readily be found a spot in the Indies, more pleasant, fruitful, or more convenient for a settlement, or that in process of time may yeeld a richer trade, either for suggars, precious wood, or any commodity that comes from these parts of the world, not excepting Gold or Silver, which is found in five or six several places (The names of which I heard from the Indians, but cannot remember them at the time), not distant above forty miles from us, and some of them not twenty. And it might be presumed the same might be found nearer ourselves, being placed at the foot of the same mountains; if we had the patience, Resolution, Art, and Industry that other men have. I was alwayes of the mind, and am now more confirmed in it than ever, that two things did threaten the ruine of this Colony, wickedness and mismanagement. As for the first, I acknowledge that sometimes in Sovereign Providence the tabernacles of the wicked may prosper, but ordinarily it is when wicked men pursue a wicked design, and are made use of as tools for afflicting the people of God, and the godly have no issue nor interest joyned with them: But it is very rarely so, when the wicked are the Trustees and Emissaries of a nation and Church professing Reformation, employed by them to prosecute their lawful and laudable designs: This doth in a special manner provoke God to jealousy. Now I believe there was never a Colony in the world settled with more wicked debauchees, then those that have been entrusted and employed in the settlement of this, in the first, and second, and now this third Equipage, for the greater part of them. I grant there have been and are some employed on this design both to command and to serve, that are worthy, honest and good men, but for the Generality of them, if you should industriously scum Britain, and rake to the very Suburbs of hell, yow could not gather many that should outdo them in wickedness of principles and practises, for ridiculing all that is sacred, Contempt of and scorning to Countenance Ordinances of Worship, for Blasphemy, Swearing, and Cursing, Drunkenness, Lying, Cheating, and Stealing (which uses to be counted the villany of the meaner sort only,

but here found among Gentlemen,) which are scandalizing and stumbling to the poor Indians, who learn to Swear and Curse in our language, and frequently complain of being cheated and robbed by our people. These things are very discouraging to us in our work, and the more, that our Councillors are not so zealous as they ought to repress all those things. Some of them you know are apt enough to swear and drink themselves: some so intollerably proud and insolent, that can neither be reproved, nor peaceably allow others to be reproved, or complained of, at least by me. You will perhaps be surprised when yow hear of one of them, a young man, insulting over one that might have been his father, and the same a presbyterian elder, treating a presby. minister as his footman: And it may be you will wonder the more, if I tell you his name, and since my hand is in, I will tell it, that since ever I could converse with men, I was never so insolently maltreated by any man living, as by Mr. Byres, upbraiding me with impertinency, nonsense, and telling me expressly, he cared no more for what I could say than for the barking of a dog. The only man among them encouraging to us that are ministers, and others that profess Religion, is W. V.<sup>1</sup> that is both wise, honest and brave. I am informed by some of the first Equipage, that such insolent maltreatments broke the hearts of the two first ministers: and by some of the second, that are also here, how much wickedness prevailed among them; particularly that Jamison and his mate, striving about a whore, was the occasion of the burning of his Ship here. This is enough for the point of wickedness. As for mismanagements, I am not so competent a judge, but it seems not unreasonable to suppose, that if there had been a necessary occasion to send for this settlement such a multitude of men (which many here do doubt, and see no occasion for the half of them), yet there should have been more working men, besides Negroes, without which it is thought strange to attempt any Settlement in these hot Countries. We find very many of our number idle and useless, and good for nothing but to destroy victuals: and our Gentlemen Officers, subs, and sub-subs, and Volunteers, think and say, they are too gentle to work, and they came not here for that end. I have no great skill, but in simplicity, I thought that when we came here three things should have been mainly promoted, planting, Trade, and war with our enemies by way of Reprisal, which have been all totally neglected. I proposed the

<sup>1</sup> William Veitch, whose father was minister at Dumfries.

first thing we should have done, was to clear the ground to plant and sow in, which would have soon yeeded somewhat to eat, and of that clearing or trees cut down to build our hutts ; But this was never regarded neither by the first people nor last. We have spent tuo long moneths in gathering young trees here and there through the woods to make hutts, and yet they are not built, nor are our Batteries Mounted. I expected also that some Trade should have been essayed, having the ship, the 'Little hope,' and tuo sloups, that might have carried goods to any European Colonies, and brought provisions, etc. Yea we might have found a Trade for Gold with the Indians, especelly the Spanish Indians, who covet much our Linnen Cloth, and get worth for it by selling it to Spaniards. Nothing of this is minded save that some were sent in a Sloup, that was here catching Turtle, to Jamaica, to try what might be got there. They went five weeks agone, but are not returned, nor any word from them ; we fear some misfortune, or that the sloup, being discovered to come from us, be seised on there. As for war, it seems it must be carried on of one side. The Spaniards have not only Pinkerton and those with him prisoners (of whom we can hear nothing), but have taken several since, and some since we came here, and on January 15th last they sent a sloup to the mouth of our Bay to spy us ; yet nothing is attempted by us against them : thô upon our first Arrival it was proposed by some, and pressed by some Indians, that a party should be sent to surprise Santa Maria, or to take some Spanish prests, etc. But this was repelled and ridiculed. I acknowledged our Circumstances rendered all these things extremely difficult ; wanting all manner of Tools for working. And our provisions, which are very bad, are much exhausted, and much of them altogether Damnified. Sicknes at sea and shoar hath cutt off near 200 of our men. There are now sick about 130. The hired ships are to carry off all but 400 Landmen and 200 Seamen. And if we get not supplies of provisions from Scotland before tuo moneths, I fear the Colony again desert, which will be a great pity. I beg your ho<sup>r</sup> pardon for this Tediousness and abrupt conclusion.--I am, much hon<sup>d</sup> sir, your humble servant, ALEXANDER SHEILDS.

2. LETTER FROM THE DIRECTORS OF THE DARIEN SCHEME TO THE  
MINISTERS OF THE COLONY.

*Edinburgh, the 10th day of February, 1700.*

RIGHT REVEREND,—We were in hopes to have heard from you by the first occasion that you had of writing to Scotland from any part of America, and should have been glade to have had your Sentiments concerning such occurrences as have happened to you during your voyage, as well as concerning the temper and behaviour of the People that are under your charge. We find the loss, and themselves the smart, of the irregular lives that the generality of those who went upon the first Expedition led ; we have written very fully on this head both to the Council and Overseers of the Colony severally, to which we referr you for fuller information in that and other particulars. It must needs (no doubt) be very surprising to you, instead of friends to receive and wellcome you, as you expected, to find Caledonia desolate. We shall not now insist upon the unhappy occasions of it, being full upon that head to the Council, who can inform you thereof ; as will also the Bearer, Captain Patrick Macdougal, who was witness to that tragical Scene. However the Interest of Religion, the Honour and Credit of the Nation is now too far engaged to think of looking backward, which is the least of our thoughts ; and the unkind behaviour of our Neighbour Nation<sup>1</sup> seems now more than ever to make all degrees of people here more and more concerned in your welfare and for your Support. As we have not been idle since your departure hence, so you may assuredly depend upon it, that we shall constantly persevere in doing our outmost endeavours for all your Interest : And for what concerns you in particular, we shall not only upon all occasions be ready to perform our engagements to you, but also contribute as much as in us lies, to make your present Stations easy and agreeable to you, by strictly enjoyning all under your Charge to have a due regard to good discipline and order ; and we are hopefull that those in authority amongst you will study to discourage vice and encourage Piety by the Example of their own lives, and not split upon the same rock of riot and immoralities that their Predecessors did. For it is not from a multitude of hands that we expect great things, so much as from a competent number of men united in interest and affection, and

<sup>1</sup> England was jealous of the expedition, and bitterly hostile.

who make a principle of their actings as in the presence of God, wherever they happen to be. There are many good and worthy men of your Bretheren in the Ministry who are zealously and piously affected with the sad disastre of those who went on the first and second Expedition, and who are not wanting upon all occasions to contribute as much as belongs to their Province to your welfare, and to the nations having a common concern in you, of which possibly some of your Brethren in the Assembly may advise you by this occasion if they have any leisure ; But maugre all the disappointments that we have mett with, nothing as yet has, nor nothing, we hope, shall discourage us from standing by you to the outmost. So wishing you all health, unity and prosperity, and that God may give Success to that noble and desirable opportunity now in your hands of propagating the Gospell, We bid you heartily farewell, and remain, Right Reverend, your affectionate Friends and humble Servants, Tweeddale, Ruthven, Jon. Erskine, Francis Scott, Pat. Scott, D. Drummond, 1700, Jno. Drummond, J. Haldane, H. Cuminghame, Ro. Blackwood, John Schaw.

Addressed : To the Right Reverend The Moderator and Ministers of the Church of Caledonia in America.

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190 Johnston, George P., 33 George Street, Edinburgh.  
Johnston, T. Morton, Eskhill, Roslin.  
Johnstone, James F. Kellas, 3 Broad Street Buildings, Liver-  
pool Street, London.  
Jonas, Alfred Charles, Poundfald, Penclawdd, Swansea.

KEMP, D. WILLIAM, Ivy Lodge, Trinity, Edinburgh.  
Kennedy, David H. C., 69 St. George's Place, Glasgow.  
Kermack, John, W.S., 10 Atholl Crescent, Edinburgh.  
Kincairney, The Hon. Lord, 6 Heriot Row, Edinburgh.  
Kinnear, The Hon. Lord, 2 Moray Place, Edinburgh.  
Kirkpatrick, Prof. John, LL.D., Advocate, 24 Alva Street,  
Edinburgh.

200 Kirkpatrick, Robert, 1 Queen Square, Strathbungo, Glasgow.

LAIDLAW, DAVID, jun., 6 Marlborough Ter., Kelvinside, Glasgow.  
Laing, Alex., Norfolk House, St. Leonards, Sussex.  
Lang, James, 9 Crown Gardens, Dowanhill, Glasgow.  
Langwill, Robert B., The Manse, Currie.  
Laurie, Professor S. S., Nairne Lodge, Duddingston.  
Law, James F., Seaview, Monifieth.  
Law, Thomas Graves, Signet Library, Edinburgh, *Secretary*.  
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Leslie, Lieut.-Colonel, Cameron Highlanders, Malta.  
210 Livingston, E. B., 9 Gracechurch Street, London, E.C.  
Lorimer, George, 2 Abbotsford Crescent, Edinburgh.

MACADAM, W. IVISON, Slioch, Lady Road, Newington, Edinburgh.  
 M'Alpine, William, 11 Archibald Place, Edinburgh.  
 Macandrew, Sir Henry C., Aisthorpe, Midmills Road, Inverness.  
 Macbrayne, David, Jun., 17 Royal Exchange Square, Glasgow.  
 M'Candlish, John M., W.S., 27 Drumsheugh Gar., Edinburgh.  
 M'Cosh, J. M., Clydesdale Bank, Dalry, Ayrshire.  
 Maedonald, James, W.S., 4 Greenhill Park, Edinburgh.  
 Maedonald, W. Rae, 1 Forres Street, Edinburgh.

**220** Macdougall, Jas. Patten, Advocate, 16 Lynedoch Pl., Edinburgh.  
 M'Ewen, W. C., W.S., 2 Rothesay Place, Edinburgh.  
 Macfarlane, Geo. L., Advocate, 3 St. Colme Street, Edinburgh.  
 Macgeorge, B. B., 19 Woodside Crescent, Glasgow.  
 Macgregor, John, W.S., 10 Dundas Street, Edinburgh.  
 M'Grigor, Alexander, 172 St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.  
 Macintyre, P. M., Advocate, 12 India Street, Edinburgh.  
 Mackay, Æneas J. G., LL.D., 7 Albyn Place, Edinburgh.  
 Mackay, Eneas, 43 Murray Place, Stirling.  
 Mackay, Rev. G. S., M.A., Free Church Manse, Doune.

**230** Mackay, James F., W.S., Whitehouse, Cramond.  
 Mackay, James R., 37 St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh.  
 Mackay, John, Elisabethan Strasse 15, Wiesbaden, Germany.  
 Mackay, Thomas, 14 Wetherby Place, South Kensington,  
     London, S.W.  
 Mackay, Thomas A., 14 Henderson Row, Edinburgh.  
 Mackay, William, Solicitor, Inverness.  
 Mackenzie, A., St. Catherines, Paisley.  
 Mackenzie, David J., Sheriff-Substitute, Wick.  
 Mackenzie, Thomas, M.A., Sheriff-Substitute of Ross, Old  
     Bank, Golspie.  
 Mackinlay, David, 6 Great Western Terrace, Glasgow.

**240** Mackinnon, Professor, 1 Merchiston Place, Edinburgh.  
 Mackintosh, Charles Fraser, 5 Clarges Street, London, W.  
 Mackintosh, W. F., 27 Commerce Street, Arbroath.  
 Maclachan, John, W.S., 12 Abercromby Place, Edinburgh.  
 Maclagan, Prof. Sir Douglas, M.D., 28 Heriot Row, Edinburgh.  
 Maclagan, Robert Craig, M.D., 5 Coates Crescent, Edinburgh.

Maclauchlan, John, Albert Institute, Dundee.

Maclean, Sir Andrew, Viewfield House, Balshagray, Partick, Glasgow.

Maclean, William C., F.R.G.S., 31 Camperdown Place, Great Yarmouth.

MacLehose, James J., 61 St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.

250 Macleod, Rev. Walter, 112 Thirlestane Road, Edinburgh.

Macphail, J. R. N., Advocate, 53 Castle Street, Edinburgh.

M'Phee, Donald, Oakfield, Fort William.

Macray, Rev. W. D., Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Macritchie, David, 4 Archibald Place, Edinburgh.

Main, W. D., 128 St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.

Makellar, Rev. William, 8 Charlotte Square, Edinburgh.

Marshall, John, Caldergrove, Newton, Lanarkshire.

Martin, Francis John, W.S., 9 Glencairn Crescent, Edinburgh.

Marwick, Sir J. D., LL.D., Killermont Ho., Maryhill, Glasgow.

260 Masson, Professor David, LL.D., 34 Melville St., Edinburgh.

Mathieson, Thomas A., 3 Grosvenor Terrace, Glasgow.

Maxwell, W. J., M.P., Terraughtie, Dumfries.

Melville, Viscount, Melville Castle, Lasswade.

Millar, Alexander H., Rosslyn House, Clepington Rd., Dundee.

Miller, P., 8 Bellevue Terrace, Edinburgh.

Milligan, John, W.S., 10 Carlton Terrace, Edinburgh.

Milne, A. & R., Union Street, Aberdeen.

Mitchell, Rev. Prof. Alexander, D.D., University, St. Andrews.

Mitchell, Sir Arthur, K.C.B., M.D., LL.D., 34 Drummond Place, Edinburgh.

270 Mitchell, James, 240 Darnley Street, Pollokshields, Glasgow.

Moncrieff, W. G. Scott, Advocate, Weedingshall Ho., Polmont.

Moffatt, Alexander, 28 Abercromby Place, Edinburgh.

Moffatt, Alexander, jun., M.A., LL.B., Advocate, 45 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh.

Morice, Arthur D., Fonthill Road, Aberdeen.

Morison, John, 11 Burnbank Gardens, Glasgow.

Morries-Stirling, J. M., Gogar House, Stirling.

Morrison, Hew, 7 Hermitage Terrace, Morningside.

Muir, James, 27 Huntly Gardens, Dowanhill, Glasgow.

Muirhead, James, 10 Doune Gardens, Kelvinside, Glasgow.

280 Murdoch, Rev. A. D., All Saints' Parsonage, Edinburgh.

Murdoch, J. B., of Capelrig, Mearns, Renfrewshire.

Murray, Rev. Allan F., M.A., Free Church Manse, Torphichen, Bathgate.

Murray, David, 169 West George Street, Glasgow.

NORFOR, ROBERT T., C.A., 30 Morningside Drive, Edinburgh.

OGILVY, SIR REGINALD, Bart., Baldovan, Dundee.

Oliver, James, Thornwood, Hawick.

Orrock, Archibald, 17 St. Catherine's Place, Edinburgh.

PANTON, GEORGE A., F.R.S.E., 73 Westfield Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.

Paton, Allan Park, Greenock Library, Watt Monument, Greenock.

290 Paton, Henry, M.A., 15 Myrtle Terrace, Edinburgh.

Patrick, David, 339 High Street, Edinburgh.

Paul, J. Balfour, Advocate, Lyon King of Arms, 30 Heriot Row, Edinburgh.

Paul, Rev. Robert, F.S.A. Scot., Dollar.

Pearson, David Ritchie, M.D., 23 Upper Phillimore Place, Phillimore Gardens, London, W.

Pillans, Hugh H., 12 Dryden Place, Edinburgh.

Pollock, Hugh, 25 Carlton Place, Glasgow.

Prentice, A. R., 18 Kilblain Street, Greenock.

Pullar, Robert, Tayside, Perth.

Purves, A. P., W.S., Esk Tower, Lasswade.

300 RAMAGE, JOHN, Hillbank Cottage, Thistle Street, Dundee.

Rankine, John, Advocate, Professor of Scots Law, 23 Ainslie Place, Edinburgh.

Reichel, H. R., Principal, University College, Bangor, North Wales.

Reid, Alexander George, Solicitor, Auchterarder.

Reid, H. G., 11 Cromwell Cres., S. Kensington, London, S.W.  
 Reid, John Alexander, Advocate, 11 Royal Circus, Edinburgh.  
 Renwick, Robert, Depute Town-Clerk, City Chambers, Glasgow.  
 Richardson, Ralph, W.S., Commissary Office, 2 Parliament Square, Edinburgh.  
 Ritchie, David, Hopeville, Dowanhill Gardens, Glasgow.  
 Ritchie, R. Peel, M.D., 1 Melville Crescent, Edinburgh.  
 310 Roberton, James D., 1 Park Terrace East, Glasgow.  
 Robertson, D. Argyll, M.D., 18 Charlotte Square, Edinburgh.  
 Robertson, J. Stewart, W.S., Edradynate, Ballinluig.  
 Robertson, John, Elmslea, Dundee.  
 Robson, William, Marchholm, Gillsland Road, Edinburgh.  
 Rogerson, John J., LL.B., Merchiston Castle, Edinburgh.  
 Rosebery, The Earl of, K.G., Dalmeny Park, Linlithgowshire.  
 Ross, T. S., Balgillo Terrace, Broughty Ferry.  
 Ross, Rev. William, LL.D., 7 Grange Terrace, Edinburgh.  
 Ross, Rev. William, Partick, Glasgow.  
 320 Russell, John, 7 Seton Place, Edinburgh.  
 SCOTT, REV. ARCHIBALD, D.D., 16 Rothesay Place, Edinburgh.  
 Scott, John, C.B., Seafield, Greenock.  
 Shaw, David, W.S., 1 Thistle Court, Edinburgh.  
 Shaw, Rev. R. D., B.D., 21 Lauder Road, Edinburgh.  
 Shaw, Thomas, M.P., Advocate, 17 Abercromby Pl., Edinburgh.  
 Shiell, John, 5 Bank Street, Dundee.  
 Shiells, Robert, National Bank of Neenah, Neenah, Wisconsin.  
 Simpson, Prof. A. R., 52 Queen Street, Edinburgh.  
 Simpson, Sir W. G., Bart., Balabraes, Ayton, Berwickshire.  
 330 Simson, D. J., Advocate, 3 Glenfinlas Street, Edinburgh.  
 Sinclair, Alexander, Glasgow Herald Office, Glasgow.  
 Skelton, John, Advocate, C.B., LL.D., the Hermitage of Braid, Edinburgh.  
 Skinner, William, W.S., 35 George Square, Edinburgh.  
 Smail, Adam, 13 Cornwall Street, Edinburgh.  
 Smart, William, M.A., Nunholm, Dowanhill, Glasgow.  
 Smith, Andrew, Broompark, Lanark.

Smith, G. Gregory, M.A., 9 Warrender Park Cres., Edinburgh.

Smith, Rev. G. Mure, 6 Clarendon Place, Stirling.

Smith, Rev. R. Nimmo, Manse of the First Charge, Haddington.

**340** Smith, Robert, 24 Meadowside, Dundee.

Smythe, David M., Methven Castle, Perth.

Sprott, Rev. George W., D.D., The Manse, North Berwick.

Stair, Earl of, Oxenfoord Castle, Dalkeith.

Steele, W. Cunningham, Advocate, 21 Drummond Place, Edinburgh.

Stevenson, J. H., Advocate, 10 Albyn Place, Edinburgh.

Stevenson, Rev. Robert, M.A., The Abbey, Dunfermline.

Stevenson, T. G., 22 Frederick Street, Edinburgh.

Stevenson, William, Towerbank, Lenzie, by Glasgow.

Stewart, Donald W., 62 Princes Street, Edinburgh.

**350** Stewart, Major-General Shaw, 61 Lancaster Gate, London, W.

Stewart, James R., 31 George Square, Edinburgh.

Stewart, R. K., Murdostoun Castle, Newmains, Lanarkshire.

Stewart, Prof. T. Grainger, M.D., 19 Charlotte Sq., Edinburgh.

Stirling, Major C. C. Graham, Craigbarnet, Haughhead of Campsie, Glasgow.

Strathallan, Lord, Carlton Club, Pall Mall, London, S.W.

Strathern, Robert, W.S., 12 South Charlotte St., Edinburgh.

Strathmore, Earl of, Glamis Castle, Glamis.

Stuart, Surgeon-Major G. B., 7 Carlton Street, Edinburgh.

Sturrock, James S., W.S., 110 George Street, Edinburgh.

**360** Sutherland, James B., S.S.C., 10 Windsor Street, Edinburgh.

TAYLOR, BENJAMIN, 10 Derby Crescent, Kelvinside, Glasgow.

Taylor, Rev. Malcolm C., D.D., Professor of Church History, 6 Greenhill Park, Edinburgh.

Telford, Rev. W. H., Free Church Manse, Reston, Berwickshire.

Tennant, Sir Charles, Bart., The Glen, Innerleithen.

Thoms, George H. M., Advocate, 13 Charlotte Sq., Edinburgh.

Thomson, John Comrie, Advocate, 30 Moray Place, Edinburgh.

Thomson, Rev. John Henderson, Free Church Manse, Hightae, by Lockerbie.

Thomson, John Maitland, Advocate, 18 Atholl Cres., Edinburgh.  
 Thomson, Lockhart, S.S.C., 114 George Street, Edinburgh.  
 370 Thorburn, Robert Macfie, Uddevalla, Sweden.  
 Trail, John A., LL.B., W.S., 30 Drummond Place, Edinburgh.  
 Trayner, The Hon. Lord, 27 Moray Place, Edinburgh.  
 Tuke, John Batty, M.D., 20 Charlotte Square, Edinburgh.  
 Tweedale, Mrs., Milton Hall, Milton, Cambridge.  
 Tweeddale, Marquis of, Yester, Gifford, Haddington.

UNDERHILL, CHARLES E., M.D., 8 Coates Crescent, Edinburgh.

VEITCH, Professor, LL.D., 4 The College, Glasgow.

WADDEL, ALEXANDER, Royal Bank, Calton, Glasgow.  
 Walker, Alexander, 64 Hamilton Place, Aberdeen.  
 380 Walker, James, Hanley Lodge, Corstorphine.  
 Walker, Louson, Westhorpe, Greenock.  
 Walker, Robert, M.A., University Library, Aberdeen.  
 Wannop, Rev. Canon, Parsonage, Haddington.  
 Watson, D., Hillside Cottage, Hawick.  
 Watson, James, Myskyns, Ticehurst, Hawkhurst.  
 Waugh, Alexander, National Bank, Newton-Stewart, N.B.  
 Weld-French, A. D., Union Club, Boston, U.S.  
 Wilson, Rev. J. Skinner, 4 Duke Street, Edinburgh.  
 Wilson, John J., Clydesdale Bank, Penicuik.

390 Wilson, Robert, Procurator-Fiscal, County Buildings, Hamilton.  
 Wilson, Robert Dobie, 38 Upper Brook Street, London.  
 Wood, Alexander, Thornly, Saltcoats.  
 Wood, Mrs. Christina S., Woodburn, Galashiels.  
 Wood, Prof. J. P., W.S., 16 Buckingham Terrace, Edinburgh.  
 Wood, W. A., C.A., 11 Clarendon Crescent, Edinburgh.  
 Wordie, John, 49 West Nile Street, Glasgow.

YOUNG, A. J., Advocate, 60 Great King Street, Edinburgh.  
 Young, David, Town Clerk, Paisley.  
 Young, J. W., W.S., 22 Royal Circus, Edinburgh.

400 Young, William Laurence, Solicitor, Auchterarder.

## PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

Aberdeen Free Public Library.  
 Aberdeen University Library.  
 All Souls' College, Oxford.  
 Antiquaries, Society of, Edinburgh.  
 Baillie's Institution Free Library, 48 Miller St., Glasgow.  
 Belfast Library, Donegal Square, North, Ireland.  
 Berlin Royal Library.  
 Bodleian Library, Oxford.  
 Boston Athenæum.

10 Boston Public Library.  
 Cambridge University Library.  
 Copenhagen (Bibliothèque Royale).  
 Dollar Institution.  
 Dundee Free Library.  
 Dresden Public Library.  
 Edinburgh Public Library.  
 Edinburgh University Library.  
 Free Church College Library, Edinburgh.  
 Free Church College Library, Glasgow.

20 Glasgow University Library.  
 Gray's Inn, Hon. Society of, London.  
 Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Mass.  
 Leeds Subscription Library.  
 London Corporation Library, Guildhall.  
 London Library, 12 St. James Square.  
 Manchester Public Free Library.  
 Mitchell Library, Glasgow.  
 National Liberal Club, London.  
 National Library of Ireland.

30 Nottingham Free Public Library.  
 Ottawa Parliamentary Library.  
 Paisley Philosophical Institution.  
 Philosophical Institution, Edinburgh.  
 Procurators, Faculty of, Glasgow.  
 Reform Club, Pall Mall, London, S.W.  
 Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh.  
 St. Andrews University Library.  
 Sheffield Free Public Library.  
 Signet Library, Edinburgh.

40 Solicitors, Society of, before the Supreme Court, Edinburgh.  
 Speculative Society, Edinburgh.  
 Stonyhurst College, Blackburn, Lancashire.  
 Sydney Free Library.  
 Vienna, Library of the R. I. University.

# REPORT OF THE SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

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THE SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was held on Tuesday, October 25, 1892, at Dowell's Rooms, George Street, Edinburgh—Professor Masson in the chair.

The SECRETARY read the Report of the Council, as follows:—

The Members of the Society, in common with all who are interested in historic research, will have learnt with deep regret the death of Dr. William Forbes Skene, the Historiographer Royal for Scotland. The Council in particular desire to record their obligations to Dr. Skene, who gave valuable assistance in the formation of this Society, and took a continued interest in its work. The Society has also to regret the loss of Professor George Grub of Aberdeen, the learned author of *An Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, and one of our corresponding members of Council.

During the past year the Society has sustained in all twenty-six losses by death or resignations. The vacancies have been filled up, and there still remain fifteen candidates waiting for admission.

Since the last general meeting of the Society, three volumes have been issued to members, viz.:—The translation of *Major's*

*History*, the first volume of the *Records of the Commission of the General Assembly*, and the *Baron Court Book of Urie*.

There are two volumes due to subscribers for the present year. The first of these, *The Diary of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik*, is almost through the press, and only awaits the Introduction to be written by Mr. J. M. Gray. The second, *The Jacobite Rising of 1719, or The Ormonde Letter Book*, has been delayed in its preparation, but has now been sent to the printer.

The two volumes for 1893 are in progress. Mr. Hallen will have ready for the printer by next spring a volume made up of the account book of Sir John Foulis of Ravelston, 1679-1707; and the *Household Book of Dame Hannah Erskine*, in part covering the same period, 1675-1699. Like the *Cunningham Diary* already published by the Society, these account books illustrate not only the change of prices, but the manners and customs of the day. But as in each book the accounts of one year are to a large extent the repetition of those of another, it is proposed to print *in extenso* the expenditure of one or two years from each book, and to extract from the remaining years only such items as present some points of curiosity or interest.

Mr. Walter Macleod is preparing the *Journal of Colonel the Hon. John Erskine of Carnock*, 1683-1687, from a manuscript kindly lent for that purpose by Mr. Henry David Erskine of Cardross. The Journal begins when the writer was twenty-one years of age and a student of law. He records in brief notes his experiences in attending the Justiciary Court at Edinburgh, and on Circuit to the different towns. In 1684, he narrates his wanderings in the districts of Stirling and Perthshire, when in hiding with his brother and some friends. In the following year he was in London, and thence passed to Holland, and afterwards joined with Argyle in his expedition to the West of Scotland. The preparations for this enterprise, its failures, and the circumstances of the various escapes of

himself and his friends until he again reached Holland, are narrated with some fulness.

These publications will be followed in 1894 by Mr. C. H. Firth's volume of *Papers relating to the Military Government of Scotland under Cromwell, from 1652 to 1658*.

The *De Unione Regnorum* by Sir Thomas Craig has been transcribed and translated from the inedited manuscript in the Advocates' Library, and will be published in due time under the editorial care of our Chairman, Professor Masson.

Attention is being given to unpublished matter regarding the Affairs of 1745, in particular to those portions of the ten ms. volumes of the *Lyon in Mourning*, which were not made use of by Dr. Robert Chambers, who presented the collection to the Advocates' Library.

Encouraged by the success which has attended the translation of *Major's History*, the Council has under consideration the proposal to translate other works of a similar character which are accessible only in rare Latin texts, printed or manuscript. It is intended to make up a volume of translations—Boece's *Lives of the Bishops of Aberdeen*, Myln's *Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld*, and Ferrerius's *Abbots of Kinloss*,—all of which were printed in the original Latin by the Bannatyne Club. Arrangements are being made for a translation of the *Statuta Ecclesiæ Scoticanaæ*, also edited for the Bannatyne Club, and one of their rarer publications. These Provincial Councils, rightly interpreted, throw the greatest light on the working and condition of the Mediæval Church; and it has been thought desirable that their contents should be presented to the public in a more popular form. It is also contemplated, with the consent of the Faculty of Advocates, to translate and annotate the *Compota*, or Book of Expenditure of the Bishops of Dunkeld, from the inedited manuscript in the Advocates' Library.

The Council proposes that the vacant places in the Council, occasioned by the death of Dr. Skene and the retirement of

the Rev. Mr. Hallen and Colonel Dods, should be filled up by the re-election of Mr. Hallen; and the appointment of Mr. Balfour Paul, Lyon-King; and Mr. A. H. Millar of Dundee, the editor of the *Glamis Book of Record*.

The accompanying abstract of the treasurer's accounts shows that the income for 1891-92 has been £504, 13s. 11d.; and the expenditure £490, 3s. 2d., leaving a balance for the year in favour of the Society of £14, 10s. 9d. The expenditure for this year covers the issue of three volumes to the subscribers. There is a balance due by the bank on current account of £241, 7s. 4d. The Reserve Fund of £300 remains intact.

The CHAIRMAN, in moving the adoption of the Report, said that amongst their losses was that of Dr. Skene: it was a very great loss indeed—a loss to that Society in so far as he took a great interest in its affairs, and gave them the benefit of his advice, but it was a loss to Scotland generally. Skene was one of the most remarkable men of recent generations in Scotland. He remembered, when a boy, reading what he thought was Skene's first publication—a prize essay on the Scottish Highlanders. That book struck him at the time, and had always remained in his memory, as an extremely new and important work. It began with Ptolemy's map of Scotland and his list of the tribes that covered that map, and went on through that period of sheer mist which ended about the time of Malcolm Canmore, running through it all a thread of most distinct historical speculation. This work for the first time, to his (the speaker's) mind, bridged over that chasm of mist. Latterly, he believed, Dr. Skene was inclined to repudiate the book, but he certified it as a most striking and original book, and really premeditated what were the greater works of Skene's life—works which he thought, apart from the merits of their subjects, pointed out to the historians of the British Islands, that whatever remained to be done in the way of the investigation of their Teutonic or Anglo-Saxon origin, much greater results were to be got in their far back Celtic origin.

When they thought what Skene did, and how he did it, they must say that that man, dignified in appearance, was the Niebuhr of Scottish history. The Professor then dealt in detail with several points in the Report, chiefly referring to the field the Society had opened in publishing translations of books pertaining to Scottish history. He said he hoped that the Society would make a new thing of the history of their little island. No one knew what was lying here and there that would contribute to the truth, and enable them to conceive the history of Scotland consecutively from the time of Julius Cæsar—who, however, did not enter Scotland, but came as far as he could—to the present time. Until a conception of that kind was made possible the Scottish History Society would have plenty of work.

The Rev. G. MUIR SMITH, Stirling, seconded the adoption of the Report, and the motion was agreed to.

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the office-bearers of the Society.

## ABSTRACT OF HON. TREASURER'S ACCOUNTS

*For Year to 22d October 1892.*

### I. CHARGE.

|   |                |
|---|----------------|
| Balance from last year, . . . . .   | £222 12 7      |
| Sum due the Bank of Scotland as at<br>22d October 1891, less 3 subscrip-<br>tions for 1891 paid in advance, . . . | 3 3 0          |
|   | ————— £219 9 7 |
| 26 Subscriptions in Arrear for 1890-91,<br>received . . . . .   | 27 6 0         |
| 400 „ for 1891-92 at £1, 1s.,   | £420 0 0       |
| Less 10 in Arrear for 1891-92, . . .  | 10 10 0        |
|   | ————— 409 10 0 |
| 38 Libraries at £1, 1s., . . . . .  | 39 18 0        |
| Copies of previous issues sold to new<br>members, . . . . .   | 21 10 6        |
| Interest on Bank Account, . . . . .   | £1 7 4         |
| „ Deposit Receipts, . . . . .   | 8 5 1          |
|   | ————— 9 12 5   |
| Sum of Charge, . . . . .  | £727 6 6       |

### II. DISCHARGE.

#### *I. Incidental Expenses—*

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| Printing Circulars and Cards, . . . . .       | £9 18 8  |
| „ Annual Report of<br>Council, . . . . .      | 1 14 6   |
| „ List of Subscribers and<br>Rules, . . . . . | 1 9 0    |
| Stationery, . . . . .                         | 4 14 6   |
| Carry forward, . . . . .                      | £17 16 8 |

|   |                  |       |       |          |
|---|------------------|-------|-------|----------|
|   | Brought forward, | £17   | 16    | 8        |
| Making-up and delivering copies,          | .                | 35    | 16    | 4        |
| Postages of Secretary and Treasurer,      | .                | 3     | 19    | 7        |
| Clerical Work,                            | .                | 3     | 4     | 9        |
| Charges on Cheques,                       | .                | 0     | 6     | 3        |
| Purchase of Copies Minutes of Commission, | .                | 6     | 6     | 0        |
| Hire of Room, 1891,                       | .                | 0     | 5     | 0        |
|   |                  | ————— | ————— | £67 14 7 |

## II. *Major's History*—

|                                     |   |       |       |            |
|-------------------------------------|---|-------|-------|------------|
| Composition, Presswork, and Paper,  | . | £131  | 17    | 4          |
| Proofs and Corrections,             | . | 93    | 8     | 0          |
| Illustrations,                      | . | 5     | 4     | 6          |
| Transcribing,                       | . | 0     | 10    | 0          |
| Indexing,                           | . | 6     | 10    | 0          |
| Binding,                            | . | 18    | 5     | 0          |
|                                     |   | ————— | ————— | £255 14 10 |
| Less paid to account, October 1891, | . | 123   | 3     | 6          |
|                                     |   | ————— | ————— | 132 11 4   |

## III. *Records of the General Assembly, 1646-47*—

|                                     |   |       |       |           |
|-------------------------------------|---|-------|-------|-----------|
| Composition, Presswork, and Paper,  | . | £131  | 9     | 0         |
| Proofs and Corrections,             | . | 62    | 16    | 0         |
| Transcribing,                       | . | 25    | 12    | 0         |
| Indexing,                           | . | 6     | 10    | 0         |
| Binding,                            | . | 18    | 6     | 0         |
|                                     |   | ————— | ————— | £244 13 0 |
| Less paid to account, October 1891, | . | 164   | 13    | 0         |
|                                     |   | ————— | ————— | 80 0 0    |
| Carry forward,                      |   |       | £280  | 5 11      |

Brought forward, £280 5 11

IV. *Court Book of Barony of Uriel*—

|                                   |      |    |   |
|-----------------------------------|------|----|---|
| Composition, Presswork, and       |      |    |   |
| Paper, . . . . .                  | £64  | 2  | 9 |
| Proofs and Corrections, . . . . . | 19   | 7  | 0 |
| Illustrations, . . . . .          | 10   | 6  | 0 |
| Indexing, . . . . .               | 2    | 2  | 0 |
| Binding . . . . .                 | 18   | 19 | 6 |
|                                   | £114 | 17 | 3 |
| Less paid to account, October     |      |    |   |
| 1891, . . . . .                   | 6    | 2  | 0 |
|                                   | 108  | 15 | 3 |

V. *Sir John Clerk's Diary*—

|                                   |     |    |   |
|-----------------------------------|-----|----|---|
| Composition, Presswork, and       |     |    |   |
| Paper, . . . . .                  | £58 | 4  | 0 |
| Proofs and Corrections, . . . . . | 18  | 12 | 0 |
| Illustrations, . . . . .          | 2   | 16 | 0 |
| Transcripts, . . . . .            | 1   | 10 | 0 |
|                                   | 81  | 2  | 0 |

VI. *Sir Thomas Craig's De Unione*—

|                        |      |   |   |
|------------------------|------|---|---|
| Translation, . . . . . | 20   | 0 | 0 |
|                        | £490 | 3 | 2 |

VII. *Balance to next Account*—

|  |      |   |   |
|--|------|---|---|
| Sum due by Bank of Scotland on 22d October |      |   |   |
| 1892, . . . . .                            | £241 | 7 | 4 |
| Less 4 Subscriptions for 1892-93           |      |   |   |
| paid in advance, . . . . .                 | 4    | 4 | 0 |
|  | 237  | 3 | 4 |
| Sum of Discharge, . . . . .                | £727 | 6 | 6 |

EDINBURGH, 4th November 1892.—Having examined the Accounts of the Treasurer of the Scottish History Society for the year ending 22d October 1892, we have found the same correctly stated and sufficiently vouched, and that the balance in bank at the close of the Account amounts to two hundred and forty-one pounds seven shillings and four pence sterling, whereof four guineas represent subscriptions paid in advance.

RALPH RICHARDSON, *Auditor.*WM. TRAQUAIR DICKSON, *Auditor.*

# Scottish History Society.

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## R U L E S

1. The object of the Society is the discovery and printing, under selected editorship, of unpublished documents illustrative of the civil, religious, and social history of Scotland. The Society will also undertake, in exceptional cases, to issue translations of printed works of a similar nature, which have not hitherto been accessible in English.
2. The number of Members of the Society shall be limited to 400.
3. The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council, consisting of a Chairman, Treasurer, Secretary, and twelve elected Members, five to make a quorum. Three of the twelve elected Members shall retire annually by ballot, but they shall be eligible for re-election.
4. The Annual Subscription to the Society shall be One Guinea. The publications of the Society shall not be delivered to any Member whose Subscription is in arrear, and no Member shall be permitted to receive more than one copy of the Society's publications.
5. The Society will undertake the issue of its own publications, *i.e.* without the intervention of a publisher or any other paid agent.
6. The Society will issue yearly two octavo volumes of about 320 pages each.
7. An Annual General Meeting of the Society shall be held on the last Tuesday in October.
8. Two stated Meetings of the Council shall be held each year, one on the last Tuesday of May, the other on the Tuesday preceding the day upon which the Annual General Meeting shall be held. The Secretary, on the request of three Members of the Council, shall call a special meeting of the Council.
9. Editors shall receive 20 copies of each volume they edit for the Society.
10. The owners of Manuscripts published by the Society will also be presented with a certain number of copies.
11. The Annual Balance-Sheet, Rules, and List of Members shall be printed.
12. No alteration shall be made in these Rules except at a General Meeting of the Society. A fortnight's notice of any alteration to be proposed shall be given to the Members of the Council.

## PUBLICATIONS

*For the year 1886-1887.*

1. BISHOP POCOCKE'S TOURS IN SCOTLAND, 1747-1760. Edited by D. W. KEMP. (Oct. 1887.)
2. DIARY OF AND GENERAL EXPENDITURE BOOK OF WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM OF CRAIGENDS, 1673-1680. Edited by the Rev. JAMES DODDS, D.D. (Oct. 1887.)

*For the year 1887-1888.*

3. PANURGI PHILO-CABALLI SCOTI GRAMEIDOS LIBRI SEX.—THE GRAMEID: an heroic poem descriptive of the Campaign of Viscount Dundee in 1689, by JAMES PHILIP of Almerieclose. Translated and Edited by the Rev. A. D. MURDOCH. (Oct. 1888.)
4. THE REGISTER OF THE KIRK-SESSION OF ST. ANDREWS. Part I. 1559-1582. Edited by D. HAY FLEMING. (Feb. 1889.)

*For the year 1888-1889.*

5. DIARY OF THE REV. JOHN MILL, Minister of Dunrossness, Sandwick, and Cunningsburgh, in Shetland, 1740-1803. Edited by GILBERT GOUDIE, F.S.A. Scot. (June 1889.)
6. NARRATIVE OF MR. JAMES NIMMO, A COVENANTER, 1654-1709. Edited by W. G. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, Advocate. (June 1889.)
7. THE REGISTER OF THE KIRK-SESSION OF ST. ANDREWS. Part II. 1583-1600. Edited by D. HAY FLEMING. (Aug. 1890.)

*For the year 1889-1890.*

8. A LIST OF PERSONS CONCERNED IN THE REBELLION (1745). With a Preface by the EARL OF ROSEBERY and Annotations by the Rev. WALTER MACLEOD. (Sept. 1890.)  
*Presented to the Society by the Earl of Rosebery.*
9. GLAMIS PAPERS: The 'Book of Record,' a Diary written by PATRICK, FIRST EARL OF STRATHMORE, and other documents relating to Glamis Castle (1684-89). Edited by A. H. MILLAR, F.S.A. Scot. (Sept. 1890.)
10. JOHN MAJOR'S HISTORY OF GREATER BRITAIN (1521). Translated and Edited by ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE, with a Life of the author by ÆNEAS J. G. MACKAY, Advocate. (Feb. 1892.)

## PUBLICATIONS

*For the year 1890-1891.*

11. THE RECORDS OF THE COMMISSIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLIES, 1646-47. Edited by the Rev. Professor MITCHELL, D.D., and the Rev. JAMES CHRISTIE, D.D., with an Introduction by the former. (May 1892.)
12. COURT-BOOK OF THE BARONY OF URIE, 1604-1747. Edited by the Rev. D. G. BARRON, from a ms. in possession of Mr. R. BARCLAY of Dorking. (October 1892.)

*For the year 1891-1892.*

13. MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE OF SIR JOHN CLERK OF PENICUIK, Baronet, Baron of the Exchequer, Commissioner of the Union, etc. Extracted by himself from his own Journals, 1676-1755. Edited from the original ms. in Penicuik House by JOHN M. GRAY, F.S.A. Scot. (December 1892.)
14. DIARY OF COL. THE HON. JOHN ERSKINE OF CARNOCK, 1683-1687. From a ms. in possession of HENRY DAVID ERSKINE, Esq., of Cardross. Edited by the Rev. WALTER MACLEOD. (December 1893.)

*For the year 1892-1893.*

15. MISCELLANY OF THE SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY, First Volume—  
THE LIBRARY OF JAMES VI., 1578, edited by G. F. WARNER.  
DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING CATHOLIC POLICY, 1596-98, edited by T. G. LAW.  
LETTERS OF SIR THOMAS HOPE, 1627-45, edited by the Rev. ROBERT PAUL.  
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TURNBULL'S DIARY, 1657-1704, edited by the Rev. R. PAUL.  
MASTERTON PAPERS, 1660-1719, edited by V. A. NOËL PATON.  
ACCOMPT OF EXPENSES IN EDINBURGH, 1715, edited by A. H. MILLAR.  
REBELLION PAPERS, 1715 and 1745, edited by HENRY PATON. (Nearly Ready.)

16. ACCOUNT BOOK OF SIR JOHN FOULIS OF RAVELSTON (1679-1707).  
 Edited by the Rev. A. W. CORNELIUS HALLEN.  
 (Nearly Ready.)

*For the year 1893-1894.*

THE JACOBITE RISING OF 1719. Letter Book of James, Second Duke of Ormonde, Nov. 4, 1718—Sept. 27, 1719. Edited by JOHN RUSSELL. (In progress.)

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PAPERS RELATING TO THE MILITARY OCCUPATION OF SCOTLAND BY GENERAL MONK AND THE GOVERNMENT OF ROBERT LILBURNE, 1651-1654. Edited by C. H. FIRTH.

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SIR THOMAS CRAIG'S DE UNIONE REGNORUM BRITANNIÆ. Edited, with an English Translation, from the unpublished manuscript in the Advocates' Library, by DAVID MASSON, Historiographer Royal.

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